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Where there's need - there's The Salvation Army

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***Only the name is fictitious**

GENERAL ALBERT ORSBORN, C.B.E., 101, QUEEN VICTORIA ST., LONDON, E.C.4

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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

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Art. 1.—FASHODA.

IT seems an opportune moment, just fifty years after the event, to recall the circumstances in which Britain, together with Egypt, took over the government of the Sudan, especially because the future of that vast region has now unfortunately become a cause of controversy between the two occupying parties. It was between April and September 1898 that the last stage of Kitchener's advance, from Atbara to Khartoum, was effected, the Khalifa's fierce tyrannical rule being finally overthrown at Omdurman on September 2. But the military victory having been gained, there followed a diplomatic conflict more stubborn than that between the Sirdar and the Dervishes. The gallant French officer, Major Marchand, was known to have set out from the French Congo two years before, in the summer of 1896, marching eastward ; and it was even then strongly suspected in London that his expedition was officially promoted from Paris, with a view to establishing French influence on the upper waters of the Nile. A double purpose would thus be achieved. The progress of Britain southward into the heart of Africa would be barred by a French corridor running from the Congo basin to Abyssinia ; and France would have something to say about the control of Nile waters on which the Sudan and Egypt alike depended—and depend—for their prosperity and very existence. Lord Salisbury had foreseen the probable collision between British and French Commanders, and was fully prepared. His conduct of the consequent negotiations between London and Paris was no less masterly than Kitchener's conduct of the campaign from the Wady Halfa to Omdurman. The victory of the soldier would have been partly nullified had not the statesman compelled the French Government of that time to accept the British point of view ; and the balance between British and French influence in North Africa would have inclined to France.

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This historic drama enacted at Fashoda came to be known, at the express instigation of the British Government of the day, as the 'Fashoda incident,' and it has ever since been referred to in those terms. It was, however, certainly one of those 'incidents' that change the course of history.

Colonial rivalry of two centuries, and a feud much longer than that, ended, we may hope for ever, when the French champion quietly quitted his post in Equatorial Africa.

Professor Seton-Watson has written that 'Fashoda was bred on the Mekong River'; and there can be no doubt that the rebuff suffered by France in Siam in 1893 spurred her to try to win the next point in the Anglo-French duel; but the British decision to conquer the Sudan was taken for reasons of a totally different nature. We had by then become irrevocably involved in the affairs of Egypt. Egypt on her part had earlier conquered, annexed, and then lost the Sudan. Sixty years of misrule had brought bankruptcy, insurrection, and barbarism. The Quixotic Gordon, lent by Britain to the Khedive, perished in his single-handed attempt to quell the insurrection of a fanatical Mahdi; and the writ of Egyptian rule ceased to run beyond the Wady Halfa, where the second cataract of the Nile completely severed the last means of communication with the lost province. Under the Mahdi's successor, known as the Khalifa, slave-raids, rapine, and bloody feuds constantly threatened the stability of southern Egypt, where order had with difficulty been established by British arms and advisers; and it was the common decision of the Egyptian and British governments that law and order must be extended southward along the upper courses of the Nile. Britain was to supply the commander and the major portion of the troops, which however never amounted in all to the normal establishment of an Army Corps; but the general-designate, Sir Herbert Kitchener, was an Egyptian servant, who had been Adjutant-General of the Egyptian army until he was appointed its Sirdar, or Commander-in-Chief, in 1892. His peculiar genius was for organisation; and it was calculation, railway-building, the accumulation of supplies and troop-training for desert warfare, supplemented by very occasional fighting, that ultimately brought him victory. So exclusively was he thought of as a 'manager'—his detractors said that 'he would

make a good manager of the Army and Navy Stores'—that it required the insistence of Lord Salisbury, wholeheartedly supported by Lord Cromer, to ensure his being given the responsibility for the more active operations of the summer of 1898.

Kitchener, then, was technically an Egyptian General in command of a mixed force of British, Egyptian, and Sudanese regiments, when, at the beginning of 1898* the Khalifa's Dervishes were standing on the Atbara river; and the Sidar's first action of the final campaign was to dislodge them (April 8). Highlanders and Sudanese rushed their thorn-hedged zareba and defeated the fanatical opponents in a hand-to-hand fight of spears and bayonets. More transports had then to be collected, more railway-line built. A slow advance upstream and across the sand at the most torrid season of the year enabled the troops on September 1 to catch their first glimpse of Omdurman and of Khartoum, a capital at that time more remote from western gaze than Lhasa is to-day. Next day, September 2, religious zeal lent fury to a Dervish onslaught; in the words of the historian Holland Rose, 'In that vast amphitheatre the discipline and calm confidence of the West stood quietly facing the fanatic fury of the East. Two worlds were there embattled.' But the fanatic fury, or at least the spectacular dash, was not all to be on one side in that picturesque though bloody battle; for its most brilliant episode was the famous charge of the 21st Lancers (in which Mr Winston Churchill, then a young reporter, who had managed to exchange his pen for a sword, took part). The faithful sons of Mahomet fought gamely, even when the Khalifa mounted his dromedary and disappeared; but their final rout was complete. General Kitchener, defying the snipers, rode at the head of his men into Omdurman. Two days later detachments from every regiment of his victorious army were ferried across to Khartoum, and the Egyptian and British flags were hoisted on the ruins of the palace in which Gordon had been slain thirteen years before. Kitchener, without a doubt, always felt himself to be the avenger of Gordon; and the only occasion in his life when he publicly

* During the preparatory campaigns of 1896 and 1897 Lord Kitchener had only Egyptian and Sudanese troops under his command.

showed emotion was at the military memorial service which he then ordered in honour of his great predecessor. The Scottish piper's lament, the singing of Gordon's favourite hymn, 'Abide with me,' and especially the moving prayer composed for the occasion by the Roman Catholic chaplain, Father Brindle, brought tears to his eyes and sent them streaming down his cheeks ; and at the close of the service his subordinates waited in vain for his word to dismiss the parade—which he signed to General Sir Archibald Hunter to give.

His sterner feelings soon re-asserted themselves. A day or two later he gave the order for the destruction of the Mahdi's tomb. The order was carried out after he himself had left for Fashoda ; and the bones of the dead prophet were thrown into the Nile. This grim act of retribution was violently criticised at home. But Kitchener had done most of his soldiering in Cyprus and Palestine before he came to Cairo. He knew the East and its respect for emblematic justice. He judged it politically advisable to reduce the garish, shoddy mausoleum to a heap of rubble ; and he was warned by his Mohammedan advisers (so he wrote to Lord Salisbury) that it would be better to 'remove' the body, which might be made a rallying point for his surviving followers. And no doubt the Sirdar considered that requital, if requital were necessary, should be made by the dead rather than by the living. For the betterment of the living he exerted himself from the first moment after he had returned to England ; and within a few weeks he had raised 100,000*l.* to found a university, now well known as Gordon's College, which has nobly fulfilled his purpose of bringing their baptism of education to the Sudanese and training them for self-government. It may be added that within the last few months a new tomb of the Mahdi has been opened as a shrine by no other than the Mahdi's son, Sayed Sir Abdul Rahman el Mahdi, a staunch friend of the British. It would be difficult to think of a more convincing vindication of Kitchener's services to the Sudan than the attitude of the dead prophet's offspring.

But we have anticipated. Before he could think of returning to England (which he did at the end of October) Kitchener had to make his memorable ascent of the Nile to Fashoda. I have it on the authority of General Hunter, who was his second-in-command, that the Sirdar, General

Hunter himself, and the next senior officer, General (Sir Leslie) Rundle, throughout the campaign each carried a sealed letter from Lord Salisbury sewn into the lining of his tunic. Lord Salisbury's instructions were precise: that the letters—which were all in his own handwriting—were not to be opened unless and until Khartoum was reached. Kitchener presumably opened his as soon as he entered that city; and in it he was informed that Major Marchand had undoubtedly started about two years before on a West-to-East journey across Africa, in pursuance of the French policy of driving a band across the Continent which must prevent continuous British, or Anglo-Egyptian, occupation from North to South. Lord Salisbury's instructions were that he, Kitchener, as senior officer, was to go in search of Marchand up the Nile, that the second-in-command was to mount the Blue (more easterly branch of the) Nile, and that the third officer, General Rundle, was to remain in charge at Khartoum and maintain contact with Lord Cromer in Cairo.*

Lord Salisbury's reason for imparting his instructions in this unusual manner were presumably threefold. In the first place he would not wish in any way to give the impression at the start of the Sudan expedition that it was in any manner directed against France. Had anything leaked out about such instructions before Kitchener reached Khartoum, the French Government would have been justified in making it a *casus belli*. In the second place, Kitchener was, as we have said, legally and technically in the Egyptian service, and Lord Salisbury might not have felt he could properly send him direct orders to Khartoum; nor indeed could he have been confident that he would even be able to keep in daily touch with him, wireless being then unknown and telegraphic facilities not so well perfected as they are to-day. And finally, the British Prime Minister may have considered that it was the simplest method of signifying that he himself proposed to take charge the moment the military operations against the Khalifa were concluded. The issue then became a political one between the British and French Governments.

* I have not seen this account of Lord Salisbury's letters recorded anywhere. It was told to me by Sir Archibald Hunter during the last weekend of July 1927 and written down by me immediately afterwards.

It was for himself, Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, to take personal charge. Behind his retiring nature Lord Salisbury had an imperious character; and from that moment Lord Salisbury did in fact assume entire responsibility for the direction of policy; Kitchener became his very effective ambassador.

When, therefore, three days after the battle of Omdurman, a Dervish steamer floated down the Nile into Omdurman and reported that it had been fired upon by a band of white men higher upsteam, it was an easy guess for Kitchener that Marchand had arrived. The British Commander lost no time in carrying out his instructions. Hunter was dispatched up the Blue Nile as far as Roseires; Rundle remained in Khartoum; and on September 10 Kitchener himself set off up the White Nile, taking with him five gunboats, a detachment of the Cameron Highlanders, two Sudanese battalions, and an Egyptian battery. Five days later he captured a small Dervish camp, whose chief informed him that three weeks before he had had a fight with 'a small body of Europeans' who had entrenched themselves at Fashoda. The flag they flew was unknown to the Emir; all he was concerned with was to expel them, for which purpose he had despatched a request for reinforcements to the Khalifa. More confident than ever that he was about to meet the intrepid French leader, the Sirdar pushed on to within twelve miles of Fashoda, where he was met by the chiefs of the Shilluk tribe, who expressed to the victor of Omdurman their delight at the defeat of the Khalifa, and confirmed the occupation of the fort at Fashoda by a small body of whites, whom they supposed to be Englishmen. Kitchener thereupon addressed a letter to 'The chief of the European expedition at Fashoda'; and next day he steamed towards the old fort and scattered huts of which the station was composed. He received en route, from Marchand, a reply to his letter of the previous day; and an hour or two later Marchand himself appeared in a boat coming down the river. He was flying the French flag; and, accompanied by another French officer, he at once came on board Lord Kitchener's gunboat.

By this time Lord Kitchener was by one means or another in full possession of the points of Lord Salisbury's policy. That clear-sighted statesman had sent a despatch on August 2—one month to the day before the decisive

battle was fought—to Lord Cromer, who must of course have communicated its contents to the Sirdar. Lord Salisbury began by repeating the instructions for reconnoitring the two branches of the Upper Nile which we have already recorded, and proceeded :

‘ In dealing with any French or Abyssinian authorities who may be encountered, nothing should be said or done which would in any way imply a recognition on behalf of Her Majesty’s Government of a title to possession on behalf of France or Abyssinia to any portion of the Nile Valley.’

The first passage between the two leaders on the gun-boat on the Nile were nevertheless couched in terms of the warmest mutual congratulations. Marchand repeated the flattering words of the letter which his Senegalese sergeant had a couple of hours before delivered from his rowboat. He congratulated the British general on the destruction of the Khalifa; and the sincerity of his felicitations need not be doubted; for the Khalifa would almost certainly have destroyed Marchand if he had another month in which to reach him. And the Frenchman went on to speak of Kitchener as incarnating ‘ the contest of civilisation against the savage fanaticism of the Mahdi.’ Kitchener equally sincerely congratulated his French opponent on his brilliant two-year penetration of the African jungle, with only a handful of men, to reach his present position; but he informed him civilly that the presence of the French at Fashoda and in the valley of the Nile was regarded by the British Government as a direct violation of the rights of Egypt and Great Britain, and he must protest in the most emphatic manner against the hoisting of the French flag in the Khedive’s dominions. The rest of the conversation was later thus described by Marchand himself: (text somewhat abbreviated)

‘ I have come to resume possession of the Khedive’s dominions,’ Kitchener began.

‘ Mon Général, I, Marchand, am here by order of the French Government. I thank you for your offer of conveyance to Europe, but I must wait here for instructions.’

‘ Major, I will place my boats at your disposal to return to Europe by the Nile.’

‘ Mon Général, I thank you, but I am waiting for orders from my Government.’

'I must hoist the Egyptian flag here,' Kitchener next said.

'Why, I myself will help you hoist it—over the village.'

'Over the fort.'

'No, that I shall resist.'

'Do you know, Major, that this affair may set France and England at war?'

I bowed, without replying.

Kitchener then, according to Major Marchand's account, gazed slowly round the landscape and in particular at his own well-armed escort of gunboats and 2,000 men. 'We are the stronger,' he observed; and then intimated very firmly that he intended to hoist the Egyptian flag over an outlying portion of the fort. After a moment's silence, Marchand signified acquiescence, but added that he would not haul down the French flag from its present position. Kitchener made no objection; and the two men agreed to leave the settlement of the dispute to their governments.

Their personal relations never ceased to be cordial. After the interview they exchanged presents; and an interesting point in Marchand's letter of thanks for '*le splendide souvenir du Sirdar*' was that he addressed him as '*M. le Général-en-Chef Lord Kartoum*.' This was not the fanciful compliment of a propitiatory rival. Within three days of the victory of Omdurman Queen Victoria had offered her successful general a peerage; and Kitchener had written to a friend: 'The Queen offered me a peerage in such a nice manner. I think "*Khartoum of Aspell*" will be the title I choose. "*Kitchener*" is too horrible a name to put a "*Lord*" in front of.' Probably during the intimacy of the whiskies-and-sodas, in which they wished each other well in Kitchener's cabin when their famous interview had ended, the new peer had mentioned to his French friend how he felt about the title which was to be conferred upon him.

Lord Kitchener returned to Khartoum. Major Marchand remained in his fort at Fashoda, with a French flag overhead which had become a much more powerful protection for him since a battalion of Sudanese and four guns, the whole force under a British officer, had taken station in a neighbouring bastion, five hundred yards away, over which floated the flag of the Khedive.

The scene of our story now shifts from Central Africa to London and Paris.

The first telegram from Lord Salisbury which we need notice came, however, not from Whitehall, but from Schlucht, where the Prime Minister was spending his annual foreign holiday. It was dated September 9—one week after the Omdurman victory. Lord Salisbury had learned from the British Ambassador in Paris, Sir Edmund Monson, that the French Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, had for the first time alluded to a possible clash between the French Mission and the Anglo-Egyptian flotilla. 'If M. Delcassé should revert to this subject,' Lord Salisbury telegraphed immediately to Paris, 'I request you to point out to him that, by the military events of last week, all the territories which were subject to the Khalifa passed by right of conquest to the British and Egyptian Governments. Her Majesty's Government do not consider that this right is open to discussion.' There were never ambiguities in Lord Salisbury's mind or policy; or if he did allow an ambiguity to exist, it was because he knew that over-precise definition may occasionally become an embarrassment. But at the beginning of every diplomatic negotiation he knew where he was ready to make concessions and where he would not. The valley of the Nile was henceforth to be Anglo-Egyptian. About that he had made up his mind; and if the French Government understood that Britain was ready to fight, there was less chance that it would take up as uncompromising an attitude as he had himself.

Nevertheless, the French Government was by no means inclined to yield. And it had a good case. Successive chiefs of the Quai d'Orsay—and they followed each other swiftly—had either directly or by implication warned British Governments that France was not disinterested in the Upper Nile. They moreover reminded the Foreign Office that Mr Gladstone had announced that Britain would evacuate Egypt and on May 11, 1885, had explicitly stated that in the meantime Egypt limited her sway to a line drawn through Wady Halfa. The authority of the Khedive over the Sudan therefore ceased; and since the Khedive was still nominally a vassal of the Turkish Sultan, it reverted to the Ottoman Empire, of which it had indeed never ceased to form a part—although there was

in fact not a Turkish official in the length and breadth of it. Britain on her part had not unnaturally in the circumstances come to regard this region as a No Man's Land, and in 1890 had signed a Colonial Agreement with Germany by which she annexed the part of it which adjoined Victoria Nyanza. It was not difficult therefore for France to point out that the new British view contradicted the old; what had been treated as No Man's Land was regarded as a possession of the Khedive, temporarily alienated, and now returning to its lawful owner. The logical French mind also asked why, if it were conceded that the Khedive, under the Sultan, was the legal possessor, the Quai d'Orsay should have to negotiate about it not with Cairo or Constantinople but with Lord Salisbury.

These points of logic and legality did not unduly disturb the British Foreign Secretary, who was able to indicate serious anomalies also in the French arguments. France herself had in 1894 secured from the Congo Free State a title to the left bank of the Nile; yet the following year her Foreign Minister, M. Hanotaux, was to declare: 'The region in question is under the supreme sovereignty of the Sultan. And it has a legitimate master—he is the Khedive,' a statement which was received with loud applause in the Chamber of Deputies (April 5, 1895). In 1898 nobody in any case could deny that what Britain was doing was accomplished with the full approval and active support of the Khedive.

Lord Salisbury therefore brushed aside arguments of legality which led the disputants into a maze of sophistries as perplexing as the African jungle from which Major Marchand had just emerged, and affirmed plainly in the House of Lords that he regarded 'the right of conquest' as 'the most useful, most simple and soundest' argument on which to base the regime he intended to establish in the Sudan.

On that basis he could be logical as well as practical in informing the French Government (on Oct. 12, 1898) that 'no title of occupation could be created by a secret expedition across unknown and unexplored wastes, at a distance from the French border, by Monsieur Marchand and a scanty escort.' Similarly, when the French Ambassador in London tried to merge the solution of the Fashoda episode in a general Central African settlement

between the two countries, Lord Salisbury, who had himself suggested a general settlement to M. Bourgeois in 1896, now replied that the situation had been quite changed by the victory of Omdurman. A few days earlier he had stated his view frankly and fully to M. de Courcel :

' I pointed out to him that the Egyptian title to the banks of the Nile had certainly been rendered dormant by the military successes of the Mahdi ; but that the amount of right, whatever it was, which by those events had been alienated from Egypt, had been entirely transferred to the conqueror. How much title remained to Egypt, and how much was transferred to the Mahdi and the Khalifa, was, of course, a question which could practically be only settled, as it was settled, on the field of battle. But their controversy did not authorise a third party to claim the disputed land as derelict. There is no ground in international law for asserting that the dispute of title between them, which had been inclined one day by military superiority in one direction, and a few years later had been inclined in the other, could give any authority or title to another Power to come in and seize the disputed region as vacant or relinquished territory.'

In spite of the cogency of the language, M. de Courcel was still not convinced, especially as about the same time Lord Rosebery made a speech, in which he exclaimed that a flag, after all, was only ' a portable affair.' The argument was meant to support the British case ; but it acutely reminded the French diplomatist of the number of islands and provinces—not to mention a whole continent—which Britain had acquired by implanting a flag on them.

The unequivocal attitude of the Prime Minister-Foreign Secretary was hotly supported in the Press and in the street. British jingoism was then at its zenith. And responsible political leaders of both the Parties of State were almost as enthusiastic as the crowds. In another speech the Liberal Lord Rosebery said : ' Great Britain has been conciliatory, and her conciliatory disposition has been widely misunderstood. If the nations of the world are under the impression that the ancient spirit of Great Britain is dead, or her population less determined than ever it was to maintain the rights and the honour of its flag, they make a mistake which can only end in a disastrous conflagration.' And again, in the same speech :

'Great Britain has been treated rather too much as what the French call a negligible quantity in recent periods.' Newspapers of the Radical persuasion were only a little less eager in their support of government policy. Lord Salisbury took the then unusual course of publishing the official papers while negotiations were still proceeding, and the public responded to the trust thus reposed in them by showing complete confidence in Lord Salisbury's leadership.

On the French side, also, excitement grew, and the Cabinet of Paris found the exuberance of the boulevards positively embarrassing. There is no doubt that the Foreign Minister, Delcassé, from the first worked for a peaceful solution and an ultimate all-in understanding with Britain. But his position was delicate. On September 27 the British Ambassador 'urgently pressed him' to say whether he refused at once to recall M. Marchand? 'After considering his reply for some few minutes,' Sir Edmund Monson reported, 'his Excellency said that he himself was ready to discuss the question in the most conciliatory spirit, but I must not ask him for the impossible.'

One of the difficulties of the French Government was that it could not communicate directly and quickly with Fashoda; and therefore in the same interview with Sir Edmund Monson, M. Delcassé asked whether Lord Salisbury would consent to allow a telegram from the Quai d'Orsay to be forwarded by British-Egyptian agency up the Nile; Lord Salisbury agreed at once; and in the despatch giving his consent used the phrase which was to save the peace. 'Her Majesty's Government,' he telegraphed, 'cannot decline to assist in forwarding a message from the French Agent in Egypt to a "French Explorer" who is on the Upper Nile in a difficult position.' Lord Kitchener, in a message dated three days earlier, had spoken of 'The explorer Marchand'; and Lord Salisbury remembered that M. Delcassé himself, in an earlier conversation with the British ambassador, had denied that there was any 'Marchand Mission.' This admission was the more significant because M. Delcassé himself, as Minister for the Colonies in 1896, had helped to equip the expedition, of which the official purpose had been described as 'de donner à notre colonie du Congo une issue sur le Nile'; and at that same time, it should be mentioned, the French

Government was also organising an East-to-West expedition under an Orléans Prince, which was to emerge from Abyssinia and join hands with Marchand—which it fortunately failed to do. Nothing therefore could have been much more official than the two-pronged attempt to create a French barrier across Central Africa.

The denial of a French 'Mission' by Delcassé was thus a clear indication of concession; and Lord Salisbury, who had called up a reserve squadron of the British navy but was naturally just as desirous as M. Delcassé for a pacific solution of the quarrel, exploited this conciliatory move to the utmost. Thenceforward Marchand was always plain 'Monsieur' Marchand, he was an emissary of civilisation and a pioneer, his was 'the secret expedition of a handful of men,' Monsieur Marchand had got himself into 'an impossible position,' 'in so false and unreasonable a position,' and so on.

The hard fact of Marchand's helplessness potently supported Lord Salisbury's contention. Even French chauvinists admitted that, as he could not be reinforced, he must be got away; and he could not get away without British connivance and help. The French ambassador in London for a while argued that the gallant Major could return by the same route as he had come. Lord Salisbury promptly replied that 'we offered no sort of impediment to his doing so.' 'Yes, but,' the ambassador continued, 'he cannot do so without food'; and he would require as well fresh supplies of ammunition. Lord Salisbury answered that, with certain safeguards pledged on the word of the French Government, these could be provided. The discussions, courteous but acute, went on throughout September and October. At last, on November 3, the order of recall went to Major Marchand from Paris. He travelled comfortably to Cairo. He remained there till November 14, when he returned to Fashoda to evacuate his followers via Abyssinia. He could claim with pride that he had traversed Africa from West to East by a way that no European had ever trodden before.

Lord Salisbury was as conciliatory in the moment of triumph as he had been uncompromising while the conflict lasted. He knew that, in the words of our ambassador in Paris, France felt 'staggered and humiliated.' He sought to salve her hurt pride. Nothing could have been more

tactful than the way he announced her surrender. It so happened that a banquet had been arranged at the Guildhall on November 4 to greet Lord Kitchener, who had returned to England at the end of October. The Prime Minister was to be there and to make the principal speech. And it was on that day that he received the official information that the French Government had recalled Marchand. He therefore introduced the announcement of the withdrawal into his speech, but with studied casualness. 'I received from the French Ambassador this afternoon,' he said, 'the information that the French Government had come to the conclusion that the occupation of Fashoda was of no sort of value to the French Republic, and they thought that . . . to persist in an occupation which only cost them money and did them harm, merely because some people . . . thought it might be disagreeable to an unwelcome neighbour, would not show the wisdom with which, I think, the French Republic has been uniformly guided, and they have done what I believe many other governments would have done in the same position—they have resolved that the occupation must cease.' Five days later the Prime Minister had to deliver another speech at the Guildhall, this time on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's banquet. The interval between the two speeches had brought a continuous flow of tributes to the Foreign Secretary; and not tributes only, for the success at Fashoda had radiated repercussions favourable to us in other parts of the world. Lord Salisbury referred to the expectations thus aroused. Many people, he remarked, seemed to be anticipating great results abroad from the recent successes in foreign policy. 'Some people would say,' he continued, 'that we intend to seize Syria or to occupy Crete; and a third view is that we intend to declare a protectorate of Egypt.' These last words provoked a burst of loud and sustained applause, which took Lord Salisbury aback. 'It is quite clear,' he exclaimed, 'if some of my audience were at the head of affairs what would be done. But I am sorry to say,' he added in his driest tone, 'that for the present I cannot rise to the height of their aspirations.'

In point of fact the expectations of the optimists were not altogether falsified, inasmuch as *post hoc et propter hoc* diplomatic advantages did flow to Britain in Crete and in

China. But Lord Salisbury showed in victory the same wise moderation as a later British Government was to show in the southern half of the same Continent, and with the same beneficent results. He prepared the way for a long and prosperous collaboration with Egypt which served this country through two wars and may, let us hope, soon be resumed in an altered form; and he also smoothed the path along which M. Delcassé was to lead his country towards the Entente Cordiale. A final act of conciliation to France was the obliteration of the very name of Fashoda from the map of Africa. It was renamed Kodok, by which the place is known to this day.*

The French had given way, as they gave way many a time in the long struggle for colonial ascendancy, not because they lacked good men on the spot, but because their distant champions, Dupleix, Montcalm, Marchand, were not so effectively supported as their British rivals by administrations that were often divided by personal rivalries and always fearful of continental complications. In 1898 France was distracted by the Dreyfus case at home and could not shake off the apprehension that should she become involved with Britain in Africa she might have Germany on her back as well. Above all, the French navy was not deemed to be a match for the British.†

By a Convention signed by France and Britain on Mar. 21, 1899, the north to south dividing line between the French and British spheres of influence was agreed to be the watershed between the basins of the Congo and the Nile rivers. In the Sudan an Anglo-Egyptian condominium was established 'by right of conquest.' And Lord

* A curious commentary on this act of courtesy to France is the attitude of Marchand himself, who much regretted the suppression of the original name. The hero of Fashoda—for so he was regarded by the French—lived to fight gallantly by the side of British troops in the First World War against Germany, and afterwards used on occasions to represent his country at meetings of the League of Nations. On a journey from Geneva to Paris in 1923 General Marchand (as he had become) expressed his keen regret at the change of name to a friend of mine, Mr Tracy Philipps. 'The bitterness is past,' he said. 'It was a historic episode which should not be forgotten.'

† This was the deciding factor in the opinion of my father Sir John Kennedy, then a member of His Majesty's Diplomatic Service, and that view is sustained by Professor Holland Rose. 'The Development of the European Nations,' p. 506.

Kitchener, still nominally a servant of the Khedive, became first Governor-General of the province.

Omdurman, in the judgment of Professor Holland Rose, 'ranks with the most decisive battles of history'; and in these days we may turn envious eyes on great victories in which human losses were counted in hundreds instead of hundreds of thousands, and may marvel at the big twist to the development of Africa which was given by Kitchener's having 2,000 men at Fashoda when Marchand had only a hundred. But in praising the victor of the battlefield let us not forget the importance of the statesman's part. During the two years before Omdurman, between 1896 and 1898, Lord Salisbury was under constant criticism for the caution he showed in his foreign policy, which seemed to many to be sheer pusillanimity. Preoccupied with the struggle between France and Britain in Central Africa, which he foresaw and considered of vital importance, he kept his hands as free as possible during the preliminary period, and was more conciliatory towards the U.S.A., Germany, and Russia than his admirers liked. And, for reasons which have emerged from our narrative, he could not publicly give his explanation. He possessed to a rare extent the valuable faculty of the statesman to forecast the future—he observed the political data and gauged the tendencies of the time so accurately that he could keep ahead of events and guide them. And he had the advantage, denied to the statesmen of to-day, of being able to keep his counsels to himself. Moreover, he lived in an age of undisguised power-politics, when war was still regarded as a legitimate instrument of policy. Lord Salisbury had never been afraid of using the threat of *casus belli* to carry the policy he considered right; and his combination of strength and moderation, of readiness for war and love of peace, made him one of the greatest of our Foreign Secretaries.

The British link between north and south Africa would probably never have been forged if Salisbury or Kitchener had failed fifty years ago. And when we compare the state of the Sudan in the latter half of last century with what we see there to-day we may claim that they built a monument which history will never forget. Then that region of a million square miles was literally lawless and roadless, was ridden by disease, frequently stricken by

famine, and brought profit only to the slave-raiders. There were no police, no public services, no kind of education. To-day the Sudan has its own law-courts and police, superb roads, railways, river-dams and a fine system of irrigation. The standard of living of the inhabitants is higher beyond statistical computation. It exports not slaves but cotton, millet, hides, honey, and a score of other products. It has a Central Advisory Council of Sudanese and is soon to have an operative Executive Council. In the immemorial history of Africa there can never have been such abundant progress in so large a province within so short a period as in the Sudan during the past half-century. But the full task of indoctrinating self-government cannot be completed in fifty years. Is the goal which Kitchener envisaged in the very moment of victory not to be reached? Are the Sudanese not to be allowed the decisive word in their own future? The present British Government wishes to see the work of its predecessors finished. The consummation of self-government implies the right to national independence. That right must not be forever denied to the Sudanese.

A. L. KENNEDY.

Art. 2.—THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS AND U.N.O.

IN this article it is intended to describe briefly the events which led to the Indian resolution at U.N.O. complaining of discriminatory treatment of Asiatics in South Africa and asking the South African Government to revise its policy towards Asiatics.

South Africa is a country of many races and creeds. There are English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who, with welcome British and Dutch immigrants, comprise the bulk and backbone of the European population. Then there are Jews, Greeks, Portuguese, Germans, Frenchmen, Syrians, Indians, Malays, Cape Coloureds, Chinese, and Bantu. Of these, some, though legally South African nationals, do not identify their interests with those of South Africa or the British Commonwealth. Indeed, a South African author has recently written a book * in which he put forward the contention, not without some conviction, that 'there are no South Africans.' Thus, when the reader judges for himself from the facts here disclosed about the discriminatory and often unfair treatment of the South African Indians, he will it is hoped make allowances for the ignorance, prejudices, and lack of appreciation of conflicting viewpoints in so heterogeneous and multi-coloured a community.

The South African Indians are and always have been mainly confined to Natal. At the 1936 census, out of approximately 220,000 Indians, 184,000 or nearly four-fifths were in Natal. The Natal Government and people were responsible for importing Indian indentured labourers to South Africa and for promising them equal rights with other citizens. Natal gave them the parliamentary and municipal franchise, permitted them to trade where they pleased after they had completed their indentures, allowed them to buy land unrestrictedly, and then proceeded methodically to curtail these rights. Furthermore, Natal, though aware from quite early times of the existence of a growing Indian problem, continued irresponsibly to indenture more and more Indian labourers, until the Indian Government, disgusted at the manner in which they were

* 'There are no South Africans,' by G. H. Calpin. Nelson.

being treated, put a stop to further recruitment to the sugar plantations in 1911.

The importation of Indians into Natal first took place in 1860, and one must go back to 1860 to find the cause of the present trouble, for that was when it started. Their introduction into South Africa was achieved with considerable difficulty as neither the British nor the Indian Governments were at all keen on the project. The Colonial Office vetoed the first Bills of the Natal Legislative Council providing for the importation of contract labour, and did not agree until some years of agitation by this body. Difficulty was also encountered in persuading the Indian Government to pass the necessary act authorising the emigration. It was at first laid down that the labourers were to serve for three years, but this contract was later extended to five years, after which they were to be allowed to work as free labourers. At the end of ten years they could either remain subject to the ordinary laws of the colony, where they would be allowed the full rights of other citizens, or they were entitled to claim a return passage to India.

When the Indians first arrived in Natal they were received with acclamation. Their wives and families received a less enthusiastic welcome, for the planters had been accustomed to Bantu workers, whose wives were generally left behind in the Reserves. Indeed, some of the planters expressed dissatisfaction at having to pay these Indians ten shillings per month in addition to providing food and quarters for their wives and children, and refused rations except to the labourers themselves. The passing of a government proclamation was necessary to ensure that the planters had to feed the families as well.

The Indians were employed on a task basis which often meant that they had to work fifteen hours a day. The sugar industry enormously increased its production. Before the Indians came, in 1859, Natal produced only 1,173 tons. By 1868 this figure had risen to 9,173 tons per year. Indian labour was largely responsible for this increase.

On the conclusion of their term of indenture, many of the Indians remained in the country as hawkers, market gardeners, and domestic servants. Others got work on

the railways and coal mines. A number however returned to India where they met with disappointment. The recruiting sirdars had promised some of them that they would get a bonus of 10*l.* each on their return, a sum which would have proved a veritable fortune to these poor Indians. But this promise had never been authorised. Other repatriates complained of ill-treatment on the sugar estates, illegal withholding of wages, and lack of medical attention. The Indian Government and the Commissioners of Land and Emigration in London thereupon refused to allow further emigration until conditions had been improved. A commission appointed by the Natal Government found that many of the Indians' grievances were well founded. As a result of this, a Protector of Indian Immigrants was appointed to hold courts for investigating the grievances of indentured labourers. Medical services were established, hospitals set up, and a monthly tax levied on employers of Indian labour to meet the cost of medical facilities.

After the institution of these reforms, Natal sent a leading official to India to ask for further immigrants. The Indian Government reluctantly consented. The Natal Government undertook to pay 10,000*l.* per annum towards the cost of the transport of immigrants. Thus the subsidisation of the sugar industry started. It has continued more or less ever since.

Indian merchants and traders began to arrive soon after the first indentures. At first they traded mainly amongst the Indian labourers; later their trade extended to the Zulus and Europeans. It has been the Indian trader against whom European agitation has been largely centred, for the Indian has proved a formidable rival to the European in commerce and industry, and the Europeans have not hesitated to show their enmity. They tried to deprive the Indians of the franchise while Natal was still a crown colony, but the British Government would not agree. When the European settlers were given Representative Government in 1893 they immediately set to work to limit the rights of the Indians. A tax of 3*l.* per annum was imposed on every Indian who had completed his term of indenture, on every Indian woman, and on every child over the age of sixteen, the object being to induce Indians, who had completed their terms of inden-

ture and subsequent five years, to return to India. In 1895 the population of Natal was roughly estimated at 400,000 Africans, 80,000 Indians, and 40,000 whites. In 1896 the Indians in Natal were excluded from the parliamentary franchise.

Meanwhile the Indians had penetrated in limited numbers to the Transvaal, where a Transvaal Republican Law was passed in 1885 excluding Indians from citizen rights and preventing them from owning land. In 1906, when the Transvaal was granted Responsible Government, laws were passed to restrict the entry of Indians into that province. The Transvaal Government also passed a law known to the Indians as 'The Black Act,' compelling Indians over the age of eight years to carry passes which had to include the thumb print of the bearer. This Black Act precipitated the first great Indian passive resistance campaign. The Indians met at the Empire theatre in Johannesburg where they took the Satyagraha oath, by which they swore passively to resist the Black Act. The Johannesburg Chinese joined the movement. Gandhi, who had by now settled in South Africa with his wife and family, went to London to try to persuade Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary, to withdraw the Act. As however it would have been disastrous to interfere with the Transvaal Constitution, his mission failed. Only 500 out of 13,000 Indians entered their names on the register. Gandhi, who had refused to register, was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. He was marched through the streets handcuffed in prison clothes. General Smuts then proposed that the Indians should register voluntarily, in which case, according to Gandhi's version, Smuts said he would repeal the Act if the majority of the Indians registered. Gandhi agreed to voluntary registration on these terms, but some of his followers refused. On his way to the registry office he was attacked by Pathans, who claimed he had betrayed them, and was severely injured. He kept his word to Smuts and gave his thumb-print to the registration officer who came to his bedside.

The Black Act was not repealed, and only those who had registered were exempted from carrying passes. This caused deep resentment among the Indians, and in August 1908 they burnt their passes. The Transvaal Government then passed the Transvaal Immigrants Restriction Bill to

prevent their entering the Transvaal, at which they began to do so openly in defiance of the law. Many who were deported to Natal again crossed the border and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Satyagrahis were then deported to India, including some who were born in South Africa. The Indian Government retaliated in 1911 by refusing to allow the migration of further indentured labourers to Natal.

The struggle went on for years. Indians were imprisoned but without effect. After the Act of Union, with Smuts as Minister of Justice, the Supreme Court ruled that only Christian marriages were legal, thus refusing to recognise most Indian marriages. Indians in Natal passively resisted the 3*l.* poll tax and a big strike occurred among Indian workers on the Newcastle coal mines. The Newcastle strikers led by Gandhi, marched to Volksrust, where they were arrested as they crossed into the Transvaal. More Indian strikes broke out in Natal and the strikers were sent back to the mines as prisoners under armed guards. This caused violent indignation in India. The Viceroy attacked the South African Government in a public speech. A commission was appointed which recommended two significant reforms: abolition of the poll tax and recognition of Indian marriages. The recommendations were put into effect and the pass laws were abolished.

The voluntary repatriation of Indians was started in 1914. By Act 22, section 6 of that year, the Minister was empowered to provide free passages to India, and, between 1915 and 1919, the number of Indians who took advantage of free repatriation more than counterbalanced the natural increase in the Indian population. In 1920 the Lange commission recommended the Government to encourage voluntary repatriation by offering special shipping and other facilities. The Government acted on this suggestion, and, by the end of 1926, 11,487 Indians had returned to India.

Voluntary repatriation was still further encouraged by the Cape Town Agreement, which came about in the following manner:

In 1924 the Class Areas Bill came before parliament. Though verbose in substance, what this Bill amounted to was that when an urban local authority told the Minister

that a particular area was being infiltrated by Indians, the Minister could appoint a commission of three persons or less to investigate. On the findings of the commission the Governor-General could prevent Indians from acquiring immovable property in that area. Later in 1924 there was a general election and the Bill did not reach the statute book, but the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provisions) Bill, which included the substance of the Class Areas Bill was published in the Government Gazette.

Early in 1926 the Bill was referred to a select committee before the second reading. The Indians objected very strongly to this Bill as they have done ever since to legislation preventing them from obtaining premises in any locality.

As a result of the Indian opposition, Mr J. H. Thomas, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was at the time in South Africa, suggested a conference between the Indian and South African Governments. Negotiations were therefore entered into between the two Governments who agreed to form a Conference to cooperate in finding a solution. The conference met on Dec. 17, 1926, and sat until Jan. 11, 1927. The main results of this conference were :

1. A scheme of assisted emigration from the Union was established whereby emigrants were to be transported at the Union Government's expense and bonuses were to be paid to the emigrants : 20*l.* for Indians over sixteen ; 10*l.* for children under sixteen. Cripples were to receive pensions. No emigrant could return within a year. Union citizenship was lost after three years. The voyages were to be supervised, and the Indian Government undertook to look after repatriates.

2. Arrangements were made for the entry of wives and minor children of South African Indians into South Africa.

3. There was an upliftment clause which dealt mainly with education, industrial conditions, and the granting of trading licences.

The two Governments issued a joint communique in which much was made of the desirability of South African Indians adopting Western standards of living. The Areas Reservation Bill was dropped in an admirable though

unfortunately ill-founded spirit of optimism, as betrayed by the words of the communique :

'In the expectation that the difficulties with which the Union has been confronted will be materially lessened by the agreement which has now happily been reached between the two Governments, and in order that the agreement may come into operation under the most favourable auspices and have a fair trial, the Government of the Union of South Africa has decided not to proceed further with the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provisions) Bill.'

The two Governments agreed to 'watch the working of the Agreement now reached and to exchange views from time to time as to any changes that experience may suggest.' An Agent-General was appointed to secure continuous and effective cooperation.

The first Agent-General for India was the Hon. V. S. Sastri who was responsible for the establishment of Sastri College, an Indian secondary school in Durban. An education commission was appointed with members who were educational experts from India. They made recommendations for Indian education in Natal, some of which were adopted.

As a result of the repatriation scheme, 17,542 Indians voluntarily left the Union from 1927-40; 2,212 wives and children entered the Union. A further indirect result of the Cape Town Agreement was that delegates of the South African Government and the Government of India met in Cape Town in 1932, when a committee was appointed by the Minister of the Interior to investigate the possibility of a scheme for settling Indians from both India and South Africa in other countries. The Committee recommended that British North Borneo, British New Guinea, and British Guiana were suitable countries for further investigation regarding a successful colonisation scheme. Nothing came of this proposal.

On the whole, the Cape Town Agreement has proved disappointing. The number of Indians repatriated has lately become less and less. The improvements in housing conditions, sanitation, water supplies, drainage facilities, roads and bridges in Indian areas have not been striking. The improvement in Indian education has been slow. The main effect of encouraging the Indians in the adoption

of Western standards has been to give them an excellent reason for prenetrating into European areas.

For many years, predominantly European areas were gradually and systematically invaded by Indians. Such an outcry resulted from Natal that in 1939 the Minister of the Interior, Mr H. G. Lawrence, decided to take the matter up. Hoping that Indian penetration could be checked by non-statutory methods, Mr Lawrence first discussed the matter with representatives of the Natal Indian Association and the Durban City Council. The Natal Indian Association admitted that penetration was undesirable as it led to friction between Indians and Europeans. A Joint Committee of representatives of the N.I.A. and the D.C.C. known as the Lawrence Committee was set up in March 1940. It was hoped that by joint discussion the real and genuine housing and other civic needs of the Indians would be brought home to the D.C.C. so that these would be met without penetration by the Indians into predominantly European areas. The Lawrence Committee however proved a complete failure. In December 1941 the D.C.C. withdrew its members. They contended that nothing could be achieved unless the committee had statutory powers.

Just after the Lawrence Committee was formed, the First Broome Commission was appointed to find out to what extent Indian penetration had taken place in Natal and the Transvaal. The report of this commission which was published early in 1942 disclosed that the position in Durban was serious; 512 cases of penetration had taken place in predominantly European areas in thirteen years. The sites acquired and occupied by Indians numbered only 150. The majority of the remaining 362 sites had been acquired by Indians and leased to Europeans. After this disclosure, the Government attempted to revive the Lawrence Committee, but the D.C.C. refused to cooperate as penetration by Indians after the report of the First Broome Commission had become much more serious. A second Broome report which was published early in 1943 disclosed that while only 77 sites had been acquired by Indians in 1941, 195 had been acquired in 1942 and 326 sites in the first two months of 1943.

The Indians, through the Natal Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress, made representations to the

Minister that if the Durban Corporation had provided proper housing facilities in decent surroundings the penetration would not have taken place. This claim was however obviously incorrect, for, of approximately 800 properties purchased by Indians in predominantly European areas, less than 30 per cent. were occupied by Indians. The Indians had purchased the properties as investments, or, as Mr Lawrence bluntly put it in Parliament, the main cause of penetration in Durban was speculation—not 'house hunger.'

In 1943 the Natal M.P.s and some from the other provinces complained bitterly of the recent penetration by Indians. This induced the Government to pass the Transvaal and Natal Restriction Act (the Pegging Act) in April 1943, which ruled that no European could enter into an agreement with an Asiatic, or vice versa, to enable any party to acquire land or premises in the Municipal area of Durban or any other area which might be defined in the Government Gazette. Any such agreements if entered into would be null and void, and a penalty of 100% or six months' imprisonment could be imposed.

The Minister explained that the Bill was intended purely as an interim or temporary measure for a period of three years. The position in Natal and the Transvaal would be further dealt with by parliament in a general review of the situation in 1946.

The Indians complained that the Bill was a violation of the Cape Town Agreement, but the Minister, backed by Dr Malan, the Leader of the Opposition, who had been the Minister of the Interior at the time when the Cape Town Agreement was formed, pointed out that the Government had reserved the right to deal legislatively with the Indian problem.

Apart from objections raised by Mr Hofmeyr, the Minister of Finance, to the provisions which affected the Transvaal, the Bill was passed almost unanimously—only the three Native Representatives, Mr Molteno, Mrs Ballinger, and Mr Hemming voted against it. Dr Malan and his supporters objected to the fact that it was not to become permanent legislation, and that it did not sufficiently limit Indian penetration outside Durban. Had Dr Malan's amendment been passed in 1943, it is problematical whether South Africa would be in the

unenviable position she now is, for the subsequent Act of 1946 would not have been necessary.

Thus, after three years, the Pegging Act lapsed. Further legislation had to be passed to prevent penetration, and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, commonly referred to by the Indians as the 'Ghetto Act,' was passed. This Act was forced upon Smuts by political pressure in the Labour, Dominion, and United Parties, who in turn had been goaded on by the European electorates. It defined areas where Indians could purchase land and provided them with a communal franchise. The franchise clauses were designed to give the Indians in Natal and the Transvaal three representatives in the Assembly and two in the Senate, all Europeans. The qualifications for a voter were either wages totalling 120*l.* or more per annum or property worth 250*l.* or more. They were also required to have passed Standard VI. The Indians, before the passing of this Bill, had the least representation in parliament of any of the coloured races. The Bill was intended only as a stepping stone to further future representation. Any South African Government attempting to give full representation to the Indians would soon be out of office.

During the discussion of the Bill in parliament, the Nationalists opposed it on account of its clause for giving the Indians the franchise. The Labour Party became seriously split. Mr Wanless, the Labour member for Umbilo, Natal, opposed the Bill on the grounds that it was a unilateral Act which in effect repudiated the Cape Town Agreement, as it was laid down that the South African and Indian Governments were to exchange views from time to time. Smuts retorted that if the question was not tackled, South Africa might drift on to the rocks, and the problem might become a first-class international issue. Little did he dream how soon the very fact of its being tackled was to make it a first-class international matter.

The Government and its supporters were not alone in their failure to appreciate the far-reaching consequences of this Bill. Many people of the Left also failed to foresee its implications. An article which appeared during June 1946 in a prominent left-wing journal stated that if U.N.O. was not already completely discredited in the eyes of the

oppressed and downtrodden, the Indian Government's appeal against South Africa's treatment of her Indian subjects should go a long way towards finishing the job. For what could U.N.O. do about the matter since the vast majority of the member states themselves lived on the exploitation of their subjects? It was never realised that the attack on South Africa at U.N.O. might take the form of an emotional outburst of anti-white feeling by the coloured delegates of this august assembly.

Thus it came about that on Nov. 21, 1946, Field-Marshal Smuts found himself standing at the bar of world opinion, confronted with what amounted to a resolution censuring South Africa. The Indian delegation moved that the Union Government's discriminatory treatment of Asiatics constituted a denial of human rights and fundamental freedom such as was contrary to the Charter, that the Union Government's policy, especially the enactment of the 1946 Bill, had impaired friendly relations between India and South Africa, and that the Union Government should revise her policy affecting Asiatics so as to bring it into conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter. It requested the Union Government to report at the next session of the General Assembly the action taken by it.

In reply to this Smuts claimed that the Charter contained no authority to intervene in the internal affairs of member states. He denied that South Africa had infringed rights which might be considered to be elementary human rights, and he urged that the matter should be referred for an authoritative opinion from the International Court of Justice.

The Political and Legal Committees, which met on Nov. 25, 1946, then debated India's complaint. The U.S.A., Canada, and Britain strongly supported Smut's proposal that the dispute should be referred to the International Court. Poland and France supported the Indian case. The French delegate moved an amendment that India and South Africa should be asked to report at the next session on the steps they had taken to improve relationships. On Nov. 29, the Political and Legal Committees adopted a French-Mexican proposal asking the Governments of South Africa and India to report at the next session of the Assembly by 24 votes to 19. This resolution

was less aggressively worded than the Indian resolution which was subsequently withdrawn.

On Dec. 8, at the meeting of the General Assembly, Smuts was received in silence when he moved that the legal aspect of the dispute should be referred to the International Court. Mrs Pandit, one of the Indian delegates, who made an emotional appeal to the Assembly, was greeted with prolonged cheers. After Mrs Pandit's speech, two members of the Indian delegation sprang from their seats behind Mrs Pandit, and, after a whispered speech with her, circulated quickly among certain delegations, including those from the Phillipines, Haiti, Egypt, and Venezeula, then returned to make some announcement to Mrs Pandit. The French-Mexican resolution was passed by 32 votes to 15, thus constituting the necessary two-thirds majority.

Twenty-three of the thirty-two delegates who voted for the French-Mexican resolution were representative of coloured populations. The thirty-two countries were Afghanistan, Byelo Russia, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Irak, the Lebanon, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Panama, the Phillipines, Poland, Saudi-Arabia, Syria, the Ukraine, Soviet Union, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The Indian and South African governments were therefore required to take steps to improve their relationship and to report progress at the next meeting of the Assembly. Neither government was however prepared to take the initiative. India had already introduced trade sanctions against South Africa and had withdrawn its High Commissioner. Smuts maintained that the first step necessary was for India to reinstate its High Commissioner. Nehru insisted that the initiative should come from the South African Government as the responsibility had been cast on it by the United Nations Assembly. No steps were in consequence taken to improve relations, so that, when the United Nations met again to discuss the matter in November 1947, the problem remained unchanged.

It was first debated at U.N.O. by the Political Committee which passed a resolution by 28 votes to 14 requesting India and South Africa to meet at a round-table conference on the basis of the 1946 General Assembly

resolution. Other resolutions calling for a sub-committee, for immediate suspension of retaliatory action by the two countries, and for reference of the dispute to the International Court of Justice were defeated.

When the matter came up before the General Assembly, Mrs Pandit received less support than in 1946. A two-thirds majority would be needed to pass any resolution, but Mrs Pandit's resolution calling for a round-table conference on the matters in dispute received 31 votes for and 19 against it. The result is therefore entirely negative.

The Indians' case against South Africa has been more than fairly presented above. It remains for me to summarise the main objections of South Africans to the Indians, as citizens in South Africa :

1. The main objection to the Indians is their amazing fertility. In 1870 there were just over 6,000 Indians in Natal. In 1911, when the Indian Government stopped recruitment of Indians for the sugar plantations, there were in round figures 133,000. In 1921 there were 142,000, and in 1936, 184,000. The total number of Indians in the Union of South Africa in 1936 was approximately 220,000 ; in 1946 it was approximately 283,000. The percentage increase of all other races in South Africa during the last ten years has been approximately 17 per cent. The percentage increase of Indians has been 28.6 per cent. None of the other individual races show a percentage increase of more than 18 per cent. It is a well-known fact that the Indians are excessively prolific. Population experts in America have estimated that if the death rate in India were lowered to the U.S.A. level, India could with its present birth rate fill five earths in a century.

In the Union of South Africa there are approximately two and a quarter million whites struggling to maintain Western civilisation in the face of some nine million non-Europeans in their own country and somewhere between 100 and 200 millions more to the north of them. This population position is entirely unique. In practically every other country in which Europeans and non-Europeans live side by side, there is either a strong majority of whites as in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. or else there is a small number of European officials administering the lives of millions of blacks, as in Uganda,

Tanganyika, Nigeria, and the Belgian Congo. The livelihoods of European workers are not seriously threatened by non-European competition in those countries. The officials of the other African territories above mentioned are mere birds of passage who return to their European homes after a limited period in the colonial administration. The South African on the other hand has no other home to which he may retire. He has no assurance that his rights and liberties will not be usurped by the African peoples who less than a hundred years ago were savages. The Indians, like the Africans, are regarded as serious threats to the white man's existence.

There are already in South and East Africa approximately half a million Indians, of which more than half are in the Union of South Africa. Of these only about 4 per cent. now work on the sugar estates. The vast majority are traders, and South Africa could well do without them. In Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, the Indians own all the hotels, cinemas, and business premises, and 90 per cent. of the houses. They control between 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. of the retail and 40 per cent. of the wholesale business. The same thing would probably long ago have happened in Durban but for the discriminatory legislation passed against them. The Europeans of Natal, rightly or wrongly, are determined that it shall not happen.

2. It has already been stated that the population of South Africa is heterogeneous and uncooperative as a whole, but there can be little question that the Indian population constitutes in many respects one of the least desirable elements. As remarked by D. E. Mitchell, a well-known authority on the Indians, they have none of the pioneer spirit. 'Be he Hindu gardener or Mohammedan business man, he does not go out into the wilds to carve out a fortune, but hangs always on to the skirts of a settled community, industriously and patiently shaping his business to his own ends and betterment.' Though the vast majority of Indians are South African citizens, they have never tired of complaining to the Indian government about the manner in which they have been treated, and the Indian Government has in turn persisted in complaining at imperial conferences. This has appeared unreasonable to the European population in South Africa, for the South African Indians are more fortunate in their lot than

they would be had they remained in India. Despite the offer of substantial rewards to induce Indians to return to their homeland, or in fact to any part of the globe they pleased outside South Africa, an insignificant number have availed themselves of the opportunity to do so.

3. The anxiety of the Indians in India about the welfare of their compatriots is generally thought to be hypocritical and insincere, considering the manner in which high-caste Indians from India behave towards their South African lower caste brethren when visiting that country, and indeed, considering their extremely undemocratic behaviour in their own country, especially towards their sixty million Untouchables, who are denied the common rights of humanity, are ostracised in the schools, forbidden the use of the village wells, branded with the stigma of distance pollution, and who have suffered three thousand years of injustice and oppression at the hands of the caste Hindus.

4. The Indian trader is accused of evading the law by selling through the back door after hours, neglecting cleanliness and sanitation, undercutting, supplying inferior goods, giving short weights by manipulating the scales, and allowing credit to his poorer European customers, causing their demoralisation.

5. In the residential areas objection is made to the penetration by Indians in European areas as they go in for much sub-letting, thus causing slum conditions. The playtime companionship of Indian and European children thrown into proximity by Indian penetration is blamed as a cause of miscegenation and social deterioration.

In conclusion, it is interesting to speculate upon how far the Indian problem is likely to affect the general election to be held in South Africa in 1948. Dr D. F. Malan's Hereenigde Nasionale Party, which has formed a pact with Mr N. C. Havenga's Afrikaner Party, is almost certain to take the line that Smuts was wrong to give the Indians the right of the franchise in 1946. By giving 283,000 Indians three representatives in the Assembly, Dr Malan will maintain, Smuts was setting a dangerous precedent equivalent to inviting the 8,000,000 Africans, who at present have only three representatives in the Assembly, to demand representation in proportion to their numbers.

Smuts's reply will be that he knows there are dangers ahead but that compromise is the very essence of practical politics. As guardians of the Natives and Indians, it is the duty of the white people gradually to grant them political rights. They must continue to do justice to all sections of the population regardless of colour. Nothing is more likely to foster communism than the retention of permanently voiceless minorities.

The result of the general election will to some extent depend upon whether Malan's or Smuts's interpretation of the Indian question appeals most to the electorate. Dr Malan intends to fight the election largely on the colour question. The degree of success he can hope to attain will to a limited extent depend upon his ability to sway the European electorate emotionally by exploiting the 'black peril' bogey; but only to a limited extent. There are other anxious problems at stake.

MICHAEL VANE.

Art. 3.—THE LANGUAGE OF THE UNDERWORLD.

OR, for short, *cant*—the technical name, and the convenient. The noun derives from the verb. In the underworld of the sixteenth to nineteenth century, *cant* meant simply 'to speak; to talk'; hence, 'to speak the language of the underworld,' a sense that has the same ultimate origin as the better-known one, 'to speak hypocritically or with an implied though baseless piety': a plea for alms sung or rather chanted by religious mendicants, with an allusion on the one hand to the whining tone and on the other to the assumed piety. The word itself presumably comes rather from the Latin noun *cantus*, 'a song, a chant,' than from the Latin verb *cantare*, 'to sing; in Ecclesiastical Latin, to chant,' itself a frequentative of *canere*, 'to sing,' with which compare the Greek *kanakhē*, 'a sharp, ringing or shrill sound,' *kanassein*, 'to gurgle, as of—or with—water,' *kuknos*, a swan, and Sanskrit *kôkas*, 'a duck' (English *cock*), although *kuknos*, *kôkas*, and *cock* are cognate rather than identical with the stem *kan-*, 'to sound,' of the preceding words, German *Hahn* and English *hen* being much closer to *kan*.

To define *cant* as 'the language of the underworld' falls short of clarity, as I know who have so often been asked, 'What is the underworld?'

The underworld consists of crooks, i.e. professional burglars and pickpockets, cardsharpers, confidence men, swindlers (including the commercial), racketeers, Black Marketeers, and such hangers-on as fences and spivs; of drug traffickers and white-slavers and prostitutes; of professional tramps and beggars.

Certain words and phrases are common to all or nearly all these classes; some to only one class or to two allied classes—for instance, beggars and tramps, or white-slavers and prostitutes. Beggars link with crooks, in that the former sometimes act as look-out men for the latter; tramps may easily, in their search for free or very cheap food and lodging, come into contact with crooks; prostitutes are notoriously and generously kind to beggars and tramps; white-slavers often work hand in hand with drug traffickers; Black Marketeers have contacts among thieves and fences; and so it goes on.

Cant, it must never be forgotten, is a vocabulary, a glossary, not a language with a syntax of its own. It does not trouble to find words for 'a' and 'the,' 'to' and 'from,' 'is' and 'have'—the small, insignificant coin of speech. Cant is a secret language, but its secrecy extends only to such things, actions, ideas as are, to the underworld, important. For instance, 'to speak, steal, take, murder, hide, kidnap, counterfeit, run away; sentence, electrocute'; 'policeman, detective, prison warder, beggar, burglar, counterfeiter, kidnapper; man, woman, child; prison, cell, house, window, door, staircase; food, drink, clothing; dog, horse, country; moon, road; gold, silver, jewellery, plate, gems; theft, burglary, blackmail; dark, bright, white, hidden, lost, dangerous, rapid, beautiful, ugly, valuable; yes, no, not, very'; and so forth. Only certain words need be secret—only a few.

What, in brief, is the history of cant, whether in the world as a whole, or in Britain, the Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America? In brief, for to tell the story adequately would require a book.

In France and Germany, cant seems to have existed in the fourteenth, certainly it flourished in the fifteenth century. Italy and Spain possessed a considerable body of cant in the sixteenth, as also did Britain; it may easily have arisen in those three countries as early as the fifteenth century and probably it did, but, for England at least, we have no irrefutable recordings earlier than the 1530's. In North America, it doubtless existed in the seventeenth century, for not all the early emigrants were as respectable as the Pilgrim Fathers, yet our earliest unimpeachable record for the United States is valid for only so early as 1794, after which there is extremely little until the 1840's. To Australia cant travelled with the First Fleet, but lacks an indigenous character until about the 1820's; for New Zealand, South Africa, and even Canada our earliest records are astonishingly late—the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the English-speaking world, therefore, Britain, so far as the documents go, had by far the most prolific cant until the 1840's; the American corpus has been formidable only since that time, but in the twentieth century it has considerably influenced British cant and is, in itself,

numerically larger than the British. Since the First World War the cant inter-influence among all English-speaking countries has been considerable; nor had it from (say) 1850 onwards been negligible. For instance, the Sydney Ducks were teaching the Americans something in the Californian gold rush days: and the Americans have been teaching the Australians something ever since. Although the English hardly less than the Americans have been telling everybody how great is the British debt, both in slang generally and in cant particularly, to the United States, yet ever since the 1850's the American debt to Britain has, in cant at least, been equally noteworthy.

But whereas the American and the Colonial cants have always been, in the main, uncultured though not necessarily illiterate, and although the same is true of British cant since early in the seventeenth century, British cant of the sixteenth century had a large element of learned words. 'Once upon a time [cant] was called "Thieves' Latin," a term which is more accurate than would at first appear. At the time of the Reformation many thousands of priests lost their livings, and [some few of them] drifted into the bands of robbers and highwaymen that infested every country at the time. These ex-priests taught Latin (the language with which they were most familiar) to their confederates so that they could communicate with each other with very little danger of having their plans discovered by the ordinary public,' as Detective-Sergeant (in 1943) Alexander Black has written; a passage that needs only these modifications, that cant existed before the Reformation and that almost as important in the early development of the European cants was the coming of the Gypsies to Eastern Europe in the fourteenth century, to Italy and Western Europe early in the fifteenth and to Britain late in the fifteenth. There have always been educated, cultured elements in cant, whether words adopted from Latin and occasionally from Greek or from French or Italian or Dutch or German, or allusions to art and literature, but it is safe to say that after 1620 or 1630, the learned element has been small.

Moreover, the native element in all cants has naturally been much larger than the foreign, though no less naturally the total number of words derived from foreign languages has been rather more impressive. Then, too, the British

element ceased, *ca.* 1850, to be predominant in the cant of the U.S.A., and in the Colonial cants *ca.* 1870.

There have been numerous books and newspaper articles dealing with the underworld, and a considerable number of these contain examples of underworld speech. To give an account of that 'literature' is no part of my intention, but one or two facts may have their interest. The most important British source of underworld speech has never (before my own researches) been consulted; the most important source of post 1920 American cant has (thus far) been ignored. The most valuable dictionary for British cant had, until 1937, been Farmer and Henley's (1890-1904); and until 1942 the best dictionary for American cant was Godfrey Irwin's, 1931. The two greatest American authorities upon the subject of American cant are Godfrey Irwin and Professor D. W. Maurer; there is, too, a mass of cant in Lester V. Berrey and Melvin Van Den Bark's 'The American Thesaurus of Slang,' but it is insufficiently differentiated.

Among non-lexicographical twentieth-century users of cant the most notable have perhaps been, in America: Josiah Flynt, Jack London, Jim Tully, Glen Mullin, for tramps; Hutchins Hapgood, A. H. Lewis, Donald Lowrie, George Bronson-Howard, Arthur Stringer, Jack Black, Jack Callahan, 'Chicago May,' Charles G. Booth, Charles F. Coe, Edwin H. Sutherland, Lee Duncan, and Don Castle, for crooks. And in Britain: W. H. Davies, the Rev. Frank Jennings, George Orwell, Matt Marshall, for tramps and beggars; Edwin Pugh, Edgar Wallace (mostly trustworthy), Arthur Gardner, George Ingram, James Curtis, Jim Phelan, Val Davis, for crooks.

At this point a cautionary remark might well be interposed. Rather too many writers upon the underworld are ludicrously ignorant of the speech of the underworld. Some years ago a very successful play contained the phrase *cracking a crib*, which, used for 'burgling a house,' was suitable in Dickens's or even Charles Reade's day; but throughout the twentieth century the predominant phrase has been *screwing* (or *busting*, now obsolescent) *a joint*; *cracking a crib* has been obsolete since at least as early as 1905. A certain popular novelist employs a cant all his own—some of it genuine, some invented, much of it inaccurately assorted. 'No names, no pack-drill!'

But one can talk, far too long, about something without clarifying what that something is: and so I propose to quote four examples, two British and two American, of cant since 1870.

In the October 1879 number of 'Macmillan's Magazine', there is, edited by the Rev. J. W. Horsley, Chaplain to H.M. Prison, Clerkenwell, London—one who knew much about cant—an 'Autobiography of a Thief in Thieves' Language.' In this brief excerpt the parenthetical explanations are Horsley's; the additions mine.

'I took a ducat (ticket) for Sutton . . . and went a wedge-hunting (stealing plate). . . . I piped a slavey (servant—the term has since become slang) come out of a chat (house), so when she had got a little way up the double (turning of the road), I pratted (went) in the house. . . . I piped some daisy-roots (boots—already slang in 1874). So I claimed (stole) them . . . and guyed to the rattler (railway) and took a brief (ticket) to London Bridge, and took the daisies to a sheney (Jew—already slang) down the Gaff (Shoreditch), and done them for thirty blow (shillings). . . . I got in company with some of the widest (cleverest) people in London. They used to use at (frequent) a pub in Shoreditch. The following people used to go in there—toy-getters (watch-stealers), magsmen (confidence-trick men), men at the mace (sham loan offices), broadsmen (cardsharps), peter-claimers (portmanteau-stealers), busters and screwmen (both names = burglars), snide-pitchers (utterers of false coin), men at the duff (passing false jewellery), welshers, and skittle-sharps. . . . I went on like this for very near a stretch (year) without being smugged (apprehended). One night I was in the mob (gang of thieves—often called a *push*), I got canon (drunk) . . . I got smugged. . . . They asked me what my monarch (name) was. A reeler (policeman) came to the cell and cross-kidded (questioned) me, but I was too wide for him. . . . I was sent to Maidstone Stir (prison) for two moon (months).' This passage shows that, originally, most rhyming slang was cant; and that much cant has a very long life.

Some fifty years later than the 'Macmillan's Magazine' sample of British cant is this, taken from the 'Police Journal' of October 1931. There Superintendent W. F. Brown, M.B.E., in a short but valuable article comparable

with that of Detective-Sergeant Alexander Black twelve years later, gave several excellent passages containing cant. Into the stirring incident he relates—I modify it slightly—I insert in ‘square’ parentheses the English words.

‘Once a broadsman [cardsharper] met a con-head [confidence trickster] and a tea-leaf [thief] in a spieler [a gaming house], when the broadsman put up the fanny [‘told the tale’] to them, with the result that the broads [playing cards] were obtained and they started spieling [playing]. They spied [played] for stakes of a sprazey [or *sprazer*, sixpence], then of a deaner [or *deener*, long slang in Australia—a shilling], then of half a tosh [half a crown], then of an oxford (Oxford scholar, a dollar: rhyming slang, not cant), later to a half [ten shillings] and finally to a oncer [one pound]. The con-head and the tea-leaf, having lost a pony [25/. : racing slang] each, realised that they had been twisted [cheated]; there was a bull and a cow [a quarrel—rhyming slang on ‘row’] and the broadsman got chived and glassed [razor-slashed and cut with wine-glass or tumbler]. A flatty [ordinary policeman] arrived and knocked off [arrested] the broadsman and the tea-leaf. At the nick [police station] a lot of scratch [paper money] was in a poke [wallet] found in the tea-leaf’s sky [pocket; originally thieves’ rhyming slang, *sky rocket*]. They also found his brief [convict’s licence] and a couple of kites [dud cheques]. He told the Guv [C.I.D. officer in charge], while his dabs [fingerprints] were being taken, that the whole thing was a drag [unjustifiable arrest]. When the con-head was turned over [searched], it was discovered that he was not stone-cold [short of money], as in a pair of turtles [*turtle doves*, rhyming slang for gloves] and his almonds [*almond rocks*, socks] they found some scratch.’

Of the two American samples, the earlier, taken from a magazine published in January 1926, represents the actual speech of a burglar. The insertions are mine.

‘About this time I lamped [saw, espied] an old yegg [a tough itinerant bank-robber] I was wise to, who savvied peters [safes], and toward night I decided to play gay cat [look-out man or ‘finder’] and blew the burg [left town] on the rattlers [train]. . . . About three, g.m. [gone midnight], we got ditched [stranded] in some hick burg

[country town]: the hind shack [guard] beefed [complained], because we wouldn't come across [give him a tip], so we hit the grit [jumped out of the train] an' had to drill [walk] out to the jungles [tramps' encampment] because the old hick bull [policeman] was hos-tile [unfriendly] an' we couldn't flop [sleep] in a box [empty van or truck]; there was a R.R. mug [railroad detective] on the job. . . .

We found another rattler and a few days later I piped [found] a beaut of a jug [bank] in a jay burg [simple country town] and wised th' old yegg.

I next lined up on some flunky graft [took a manual job] in a beanery [cheap restaurant] where I could rubber the lay [now usually *case the joint*: examine the building to be robbed]. The graft [robbery to be effected] was an old peter that was easy. I also got cases on [ascertained the position, etc., of] a couple of flivvers [cheap cars] for a getaway, as we were about fourteen kilos [miles] from the main pike [highway].

The thing came off as per arrangement. . . . The old hill billy hooper [rural constable], over in the hoosegow [lock-up, prison] where he was floppin', never even heard the racket, but we nearly ran over some bimboes [guys, fellows] as we was gettin' out of town.

. . . We scooped up about five grand [\$5,000] an' beat it, 'cause we was leery [we suspected or feared] th' bulls would be on [alert].

We ditched th' Lizzie [Ford car] soon an' went home on th' cushions [on a passenger train in a comfortable compartment].

Compare that linguistic curiosity—highly praised by that fine scholar, the late William Lyon Phelps—with the following equally genuine piece of cant.

In 1938 Don Castle succeeded in getting his grim, moving story 'Do Your Own Time' published in England; the Americans had—one cannot blame them—refused to print it. 'Do Your Own Time' deals with the great prison of San Quentin in about 1934. From this remarkable book I take an incident narrated by a convict. 'Th' joke was on me. . . . Th' beak [judge] was a Hebe [Jew], an' th' dicks [detectives] knew he was wrong [a crook]; so they kep' him on th' spot [in a difficult position] long enough t' make him promise t' give the

broad [girl] a five spot [a sentence of five years] in Walla Walla [a penitentiary for women].

'Y'see, th' skirt [girl] was th' cutor's lay [prosecutor's or judge's mistress], an' t' hand her a fin [five years' term of imprisonment] like that set pretty tough with him [went against the grain]; so he gets me t' tommy-gun the tecs. I was in a creep-joint [a gambling-establishment that moves every night] when they comes in f'r a pay-off [share of graft or bribe-money] on a load of M [consignment of morphine], an' I let 'em have it—fas'. They knock off [die] without a whisper [without speaking]. I scrams [hurried away] an' am batting up the stem [driving my car up the street] at about sixty when a dumb flat-foot [uniformed policemen] yanks [forces] me t' th' kerb. He makes the bus [searches the car], an' pipes [sees, finds] th' Tommy [Thompson sub-machine gun], an' a coupla quarts o' alky [alcoholic liquor], so what does the nob do but bury me f'r the night [hold me in detention overnight].

Th' nex' morning' they try t' hang th' torpedoin' [killings] on me, but th' beak gets th' office [warning, notice] an' comes down. He goes [arranges an alibi] f'r me, puts me on th' bricks [has me released], an' hands me two grand [\$2,000] an' tells me t' breeze th' burg [get out of town]; which I does.

Well, when I hits [arrive in] Frisco th' bulls [police] know me. They frisk [search] me an' pipes the case dough [money reserved against a trial]. I tries t' tell 'em its square jack [honest money], but they don't fall [for the tale], an' th' nex' thing I knows I'm doin' a ten-spot in college [serving a ten-years' sentence in prison].

Almost every one of those words is still current—and most of the survivors are still cant. Cant is much more conservative, tends to last far longer, than slang: usually, cant words and phrases long remain unknown, except to a very few outsiders; also the underworld is slow to perceive that a word has become familiar to detectives, even to journalists, and therefore dangerous.

Apart from its sociological value, which is immense, cant is particularly notable for its word-histories. Among the most fascinating of these are the etymologies of underworld terms that have gained a general currency in colloquial and slang speech, much as *bloke* and *cove*, *chum* and *cully* and *pal*; *hobo* and *spiv*; *booze* and *grub*; *bingo*

(now *binge*) and *stingo*; to *doss* and to *snooze*; to *nab*, *nail*, *snaffle*; to *bump off*; a *mug* and a *hick*; *queer* and *phoney* and *rum*; to *bilk* and *do* (swindle); to *lope* and to *hike*; to *go west*; a *bob* and a *tanner*; *racket* and *stir*; and certain others.

But to examine the etymologies of the thirty named terms would verge on excess. On the other hand, to consider less than (say) ten would be extremely misleading. The chosen ten cover a period of over four centuries: *queer* and *rum*, constituting an inseparable pair; *booze*, which oils the ideological wheels; *racket*, surprisingly early and not solely American; *to go west*, even more astonishingly early; *tanner*; *stir*, not only American; *hobo*, entirely American; *phoney*, less American than you might suppose; and *spiv*, almost offensively English.

Queer (in the sixteenth century, often *quire* or *quyer*; in the seventeenth, sometimes *quier* or *quere*) has always, in cant, signified 'bad, inferior; cheap; base, counterfeit; criminal': and in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was constantly being opposed to *rum*, 'excellent, superior; valuable, expensive; genuine; handsome; great, important, extremely skilful or intelligent.' In the nineteenth century, *queer* assumed the slang senses 'tipsy; ill; unfavourable; slightly mad' and in the twentieth, 'homosexual'; in the nineteenth century (though recorded in isolation in 1774 and 1777: O.E.D.), *rum* assumed the slang senses 'odd, eccentric, strange; questionable, disreputable; inferior.'

Why has *rum*, from meaning 'excellent,' come to mean the opposite—come, in short, to be synonymous with *queer*? Ponder these phrases: *rum bite* or *rum fun*, a clever swindle; *rum blowen*, a beautiful prostitute; *rum cull*, a man very generous to a woman, a rich man easily duped; *rum diver*, a very dexterous pickpocket; *rum mizzler*, a thief clever at escaping; *rum padder*, a 'superior' highwayman: in these terms, the criminal skill or cleverness is anti-social and, by honest citizens, regarded not as good but as bad, not as profitable but as harmful or damaging; what is *rum* or 'excellent' to the criminal is *queer* or 'very bad' for the rest of society. Now, the early Scottish use of *queer* is probably independent of the underworld use, but both usages probably have the same origin; certainly the underworld *queer* derives from the German *quer*, 'across,

athwart, transverse; oblique, crooked': compare the noun *crook*, the adjective *crooked* (dishonest), and the underworld on *the cross*, adjective and adverb for '(by) living dishonestly, especially by theft.'

Rum is a much more difficult word: neither Ernest Weekley nor the O.E.D. essays an etymology; 'Webster,' on the basis of the sixteenth-to-eighteenth century variant *rome*, tentatively suggests derivation from Romany *rom*, 'a husband, a Gypsy,' presumably on the assumption that, to a Gypsy, anything gypsy is good. There is something to be said for Webster's suggestion; nothing for the suggestion that *rum* derives from dialectal *ram*, 'strong'—for *ram* appears to be, certainly it is recorded, much too late. But I believe that Hotten was right when he derived the adjective *rum*, 'excellent,' from *Rome*, presumably in its Italian form *Roma*, which, according to Ernout and Meillet, is 'd'origine sans doute étrusque'; Ernout and Meillet omitted to indicate what the Etruscan word was—and what its literary meaning. *Roma* may be cognate with the root that occurs in German *Ruhm*, 'fame'—that old Teutonic radical *hruod*, 'fame,' which appears in *Roderick* and *Roger*; or perhaps—less probably?—with Greek *rhuma*, 'shelter, refuge.' Rome, Tibullus's *Roma aeterna*, Catholics' *The Eternal City*, Edgar Allan Poe's 'the grandeur that was Rome'—Rome in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a monument of architectural grandeur and beauty, a mausoleum of almost mythical power: to the Gypsies, who, either from the Balkans or direct from Egypt, came to Italy in the 1420's and again, more numerous, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Rome must have seemed, must have been, a miracle of material splendour and a vast museum of history, a storehouse of riches, a notable field for the exercise of their nimble fortune-telling tongues and their adeptly 'conveying' fingers. This fact alone, or this fact conjoined with the fact that in Turkey (a country to which the Gypsies early repaired and where they founded a Turkish Gypsy dialect) 'Roman' was *Rum*, would suffice for the equation of the ideas in 'excellent, splendid, rich, superior, exceedingly clever or skilful' with the Italian *romano* ('Roman'), re-shaped to Gypsy linguistic needs. That is not something I assert, merely a possibility I tentatively suggest.

Booze, like *queer*, is recorded in normal speech long before it appears in cant: but *booze*, like *queer*, owes its nineteenth-to-twentieth century currency to its presence in cant; and its first appearance in cant may be, probably is, quite independent of its earlier existence. *Booze* is the eighteenth-to-twentieth century form of sixteenth-to-twentieth century *bouse*, *bouze*, *bowse*. The noun apparently derives from the verb; the verb derives from Middle Dutch *bûsen*, 'to tipple': compare Low German *busen*; indeed, *booze* resembles *carouse* in its geographical origin. Kluge obtains the German word from Middle High German *bûs*, 'swelling, tumidity, inflation'; yet I cannot prevent myself from thinking that, but for the missing links, we should take *booze* as being, in its earliest form, cognate with Latin *bibere*, Greek *pinein*, Sanskrit *pibati* (he drinks), and Latin *potus* (adjective), 'having been drunk, having drunk.' The Aryan stem for 'to drink' seems to have been *pi-* or alternatively *po-*: and I suspect that *booze* may ultimately be proved to descend from the *po-* alternative of that stem, rather than from a stem meaning 'tumidity.'

Racket, which so many regard as an Americanism for 'an illicit activity an illegal trade or enterprise,' was English long before it became American. Moreover, it was late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century cant before, ca. 1860, it became low slang. James Hardy Vaux, who was transported to Australia as a convict, records it in the glossary, compiled in 1810-12, to his 'Memoirs'—as a synonym of *lay* (another cant term become slang), a dodge, trick, plan, occupation, 'line' of business, especially when they are illegal or at the least 'shady.' In Pierce Egan's recension (1823) of Grose's 'Vulgar Tongue' we find *be in a racket*, to be privy to an illegality. As *row* (originally cant), a quarrel derives from *row*, a noisy disturbance, so *racket*, an illegal activity, derives from *racket*, a noise or disturbance; the latter *racket* is probably echoic and comparable, but only semantically, with Greek *thorubos* and perhaps with Latin *clamor*.

To go west, popularised during the First World War in the sense 'to be killed, to die,' may owe something to pioneering in North America and certainly owes much to the idea of the sun dying in the west. But not everything. In 1592, Robert Greene, in his 'Coney-Catching,' Part II, has this pregnant passage, 'So long the foists [pickpockets]

put their vilanie in practise, that West-ward they goe, and there solemnly make a rehearsall sermon at tiberne.' From Newgate Prison in east London, condemned criminals rode up *Holborn (Hill)*—compare Ben Jonson's *the heavy hill . . . of Holborn* (1614)—to the gallows at Tyburn, the place of execution for Middlesex from the late twelfth to the latish eighteenth century, the gallows standing at the precise point where the present Bayswater and Edgware Roads join with Oxford street: in short, *west* London, the West End.

A *tanner*, 'sixpence,' arising *ca.* 1800, superseded the synonymous late seventeenth to early nineteenth century *simon*. Instead of deriving it from Romany *tauno*, 'young' (not 'little,' as Hotten says: 'little' is *tikno*) or from Latin *tener*, or saying 'Origin unknown' (Weekley), or 'uncertain' (O.E.D.), or discreetly saying nothing at all (Webster), it is perhaps advisable to see what semantics can do for the perplexed etymologist. From childhood days I have remembered the old riddle, 'What is the earliest banking transaction mentioned in The Bible?—When Peter lodged a tanner with Simon.' The text in Acts reads thus, 'He [Peter] lodgeth with one Simon a Tanner' (x. 6) and 'He lodgeth in the house of Simon a tanner, by the sea side.'

'He lodgeth with one Simon, a tanner'

He lodges one Simon, a tanner

one Simon, a tanner

one *simon*, a tanner

a tanner=one *simon*

a tanner=sixpence.

When in 'A Covey of Partridge,' 1937, I proposed that explanation, it was greeted with howls of ribald mirth—except by a very few. These few have become less few.

The underworld terms for prison are *jug* (now low slang) and *stir*, the latter being recorded by Henry Mayhew in his great work as early as 1851—at least a generation before it appears in the annals of the United States, where such a phrase as *stir-crazy* or *stir-simple*, crazed by prison hardships, has obtained fairly general currency. About the etymology much nonsense has been talked. The key lies in the synonymous *start*, dating from *ca.* 1830 and derived from *the Start*, Newgate Prison. *The start*, also *the Old* Vol. 286.—No. 576.

Start (Grose, 1788), later came to mean the Old Bailey. From either or both of these senses—these buildings were London landmarks—comes the obsolescent sense of *the Old Start*: London. The word *start* represents a shortening of Romany *stariben*, a prison, or of the variant *stardo* (or *stardi*); from the further variant *steripen* comes our *stir*, likewise by abridgement. In one form or another the word exists in several Continental dialects or variations of Gypsy, and in at least one Continental cant as a derivative from Gypsy: Spanish *estari*, often 'disguised' as *estaribel*,* the Catalan Gypsy being *estaru*. The *star* form is basic and appears to derive ultimately from an Aryan root meaning 'to hold, to detain.'

Hobo, on the other hand, is wholly American. Originally—Josiah Flynt records it in 1891—it denoted any tramp, but twentieth-century tramps have increasingly tended to differentiate it thus: 'Bums loaf and sits. Tramps loaf and walks. But a hobo moves and works, and he's clean.' Godfrey Irwin in his 'American Tramp and Underworld Slang,' 1931, mentions several of the guesses made concerning the origin of the term. The latest 'Webster' curtly remarks that the origin is unknown—and leaves it at that. The only proposal worth repetition is the one made by 'A Dictionary of American English': 'Ho! beau' in address to, or among, tramps; that seems to me by far the best guess—and very probably correct.

The noun *phoney* (preferable to *phony*) is entirely American for 'one who, or that which, is not what he or it seems'; it derives from the adjective *phoney*, 'imitation, false, counterfeit; illicit, open to (legal) suspicion,' used by the inimitable George Ade, 'New Fables in Slang,' 1900. The phrase *phoney man*, later *phoney stiff*, 'a peddler of cheap jewellery, especially jewellery with imitation gems,' affords the clue, especially when we find that the earliest American form was *fawney man* (extant in England). Since about 1760, *fawney*, though now obsolescent, has been used in Britain for a finger ring; *the fawney rig* (Grose, 1788) was the famous old trick more widely known as 'ring-dropping.' And *fawney* merely anglicises the Irish *fainné*.

Phoney suggests spivs, who are phoney members of

* I owe this form to Dr Alberto Menarini, the great Italian authority on cant.

society. A *spiv* is one who makes a living without working for it. The term arose in the 1890's among racecourse gangs and hangers-on, to designate racecourse touts and other hangers-on; it still is so used. Probably in the 1920's it began to be applied also to hangers-on of the boxing world; indeed, an early printed record, the next morning's newspaper report of Lionel Seccombe's wireless broadcast of the Foord-Neusel fight on Nov. 18, 1936, is of the term used thus. My only earlier printed record of *spiv* occurs in Axel Bracey's novel, 'School for Scoundrels,' 1934. In January 1937, John Worby's 'The Other Half. The Autobiography of a Spiv,' which went through seven editions in two years, and in 1939 the sequel, 'Spiv's Progress,' established the term. But the war caused many to forget that establishment. Then in May to August 1947 *spiv* had a tremendous Press and was occasionally heard in Parliament. In July to August journalists employed *spiv economy* to describe the Government's makeshift measures. Numerous correspondents to the Press ventured, nay proclaimed various etymologies, most of which ignored both the fact that, until May or June 1947, the word belonged to cant and only then became slang, and the further fact that it had existed for more than a generation before the Second World War. The most likely, indeed the only viable explanation is this:

Compare the obsolescent slang *spiffing* 'excellent.' *Spiffing* and *spiv* have a common origin in the dialectal *spiff* or *spif*, 'neat, smart, dandified; excellent'; compare also the Scottish and Yorkshire *spiffer*, 'anything unusually good.' For the change from adjective to noun we have the analogy of *phoney*. By a no less generally accepted linguistic principle—one of the so-called 'laws of language'—the principle of Ease of Pronunciation, *spif* becomes *spiv*.

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

Art. 4.—THE ARMY EXPERIMENT IN FURTHER EDUCATION.

THE conception that education must be regarded as a life-long process is influencing all authorities concerned with this service. The Education Act of 1944 is in fact more of a consolidation of ideas already held in educational circles, and indeed often operated in practice, than it is a breaking of completely new ground. The Act does, however, give legal form to a unity towards which our educational services were already tending. It is a far cry from the Elementary Education Act of 1870 to the Act of 1944 which deals with the whole system of public education rather than a part. The catch phrase now is, 'Education from the cradle to the grave.'

Whether circumstances will permit this new outlook to result in a new educational world within our time remains to be seen. The physical obstacles are many and this expansion in education comes at a time when it is least easy to effect. It is idle to speculate why this step forward was not made in the years of the depression, yet it is then that it should have been made; although by to-day we have acquired greater experience, especially in the field of Further Education.

The Second World War showed how adults were much more capable of learning new things when they were deeply concerned and interested in them than had been previously thought possible. In the services there was the pressing need for millions to learn new techniques in the shortest possible time. The civil population had to be trained in methods of Civil Defence. Then there was the need for mental relaxation during the intervals between warlike action and, in this field, Army Education played a vital part. During the release period the early classes for demobilisation had the energy of their impatience directed into vocational interests as well as towards the thoughts of the philosophers and the creations of the artists and the craftsmen. The release period educational scheme unquestionably acted as an effective shock-absorber and helped to canalise and control those forces, which, when the First World War ended, gave rise to many ugly incidents and indeed serious riots among troops hungry for demobilisation.

Without going into the past record of Army Education (which is, however, a fascinating story) it may prove of interest to discuss its functions in the Army of to-day. Three principles emerge. The first is that the soldier is also a citizen and should therefore not be excluded from the benefits of further education just because he is a soldier; there should be for that reason no hiatus in his educational opportunities. The second principle is the need that every soldier's mental capabilities shall be developed to the fullest extent so that the intricacies of modern armaments and warfare can be successfully operated. Just as the complexities of modern society demand a people educated to its fullest potential in order to function at all, so would warfare in the future, if it should occur, make even greater demands upon our skills and intelligence. The third principle is of special economic importance. It is clear that the people of this country can only exist and obtain their food supplies and raw materials for their factories if they develop their overseas trade to an expanded degree and reproduce as far as possible and practicable that favourable balance of exports—both visible and invisible—that was built up by us in the nineteenth century. Thus only can foreign credits to cover our imports be now obtained.

In developing this new export trade, the products of our skill and advanced technology are more likely to meet the needs of the world markets of to-day than coarser products. We must export the products of our brains not our brawn; intricate machinery and appliances rather than pig iron. This means people highly trained in their skills and amply guided in their technology; and these, in turn, mean intensive and enlightened technical and practical education. The service year should therefore supply the necessary link in education so that the abilities already held by the recruit shall not be lost but rather enhanced and improved. Thus, for purely economic reasons, it will pay us to educate our soldiers well, and this is a further justification for a complete scheme of Army education.

Thus the time has come for a more comprehensive organisation of Army education so that it will fit more closely the needs both of the new Army and of the young recruits now coming into it. The stage of consolidation,

of correlation, of codification, after the experimental years, has clearly arrived. For many months past the War Office has been working on its plan for the future organisation of Army education. This was considered, stage by stage, by the Army Education Advisory Board. Endorsed by this body, the plan has now received the approval of the Army Council and the sanction of the Treasury. It was publicly announced by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons on March 13, 1947. What does this plan mean in its detailed working and what personal and social effects is it likely to have when fully operated?

Before discussing the detail of this plan, it is fitting to point out that as far as further education is concerned the recruit, perhaps in spite of himself, will have an advantage over his civilian counterpart, for during his year's service, after he has reached the age of eighteen years, he will receive compulsory education 'in the King's time.' The Army scheme thus extends for its recruits the obligatory education which the civil Act lays down up to eighteen years through the provision of the County Colleges for pupils of sixteen to eighteen years not already attending grammar and technical schools. This is a new feature and, in practice, can quite well bridge the gap between the end of the County College phase and the later years of discretion when voluntary further education of cultural or vocational type is more likely to be sought by the young citizen who has been enabled in the Army to keep in touch with these things. This may, indeed, prove to be a factor of major social importance, especially, as we shall see, that the new plans for Army education provide for not only education of the formal type but also for the cultivation of skills and interests of material and intellectual value.

Taking the time factor first: under the recent National Service Act which reduced conscripted service to one year, beginning in 1949, recruits during basic training devote at least two hours in each week allocated at this stage to the study of Citizenship and Current Affairs. The citizenship course covers in outline topics like 'Why we are in the Army,' 'The Citizen and the Army,' 'Empire Citizen,' and 'World Citizen,' the lessons, visits, and film exhibitions concerned being carried out by instructors of the Royal Army Educational Corps. Current Affairs are,

however, a direct responsibility of the unit itself, though the advice of the R.A.E.C. is available to the regimental officers who have to 'chair' these talks and conduct the discussions. Often the factual bases for these discussions are given by civilian lecturers supplied by the local regional committees which are usually associated with the appropriate universities.

In the study of Current Affairs, discussion is an important feature, this being free. Under ideal conditions, for this reason, the groups should be small so that social intimacy and freedom of speech are possible. In these discussions a regimental officer takes the chair. The training of regimental officers in the conduct of the discussions in the subjects of topical social and political interests presented in the Current Affairs period is undertaken by the R.A.E.C., but owing to the rapid change over in officer personnel at present, a sufficient number of competent officer 'chairmen' to provide for the needs of groups of platoon strength is not always available. Material supplied by such organisations as the Bureau of Current Affairs is widely drawn upon for these discussions which have now become a welcome part of cultural life in the Army. On the basis of the publications of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs and similar bodies used and discussed by units in all theatres during the war has arisen this present-day, and apparently permanent, feature of service education.

To the voluntary student there are opportunities for continuing his studies or his reading outside 'the King's time.' There are in all established camps 'information rooms,' 'quiet rooms,' and 'libraries.' Apart from books obtained individually, an admirable standard 'unit library' of four hundred well-selected books is available in any camp of sufficient size, and this selection enables any student undergoing basic training to nourish his cultural and professional interests. A generous supply of newspapers and periodicals in 'information,' 'quiet,' and other rooms is ensured from regimental funds, and it has been found that where Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery's 'bedside lamps' have been installed in barrack rooms, the resulting demand upon the 'unit library' and other book stores has been greatly increased. A well-organised scheme for correspondence courses in special subjects and

in preparation for training for one of the professions is also in operation. This met, in particular during the release period, a distinct need among soldiers preparing themselves for civilian life.

In the early sorting out of recruits, note is taken of men found to be illiterate for some reason or other. About 1 to 2 per cent. are usually of this type, and they are sent immediately for a six-weeks' course to a Preliminary Education Centre in the hope that intensive teaching there will assist them in regaining a skill in reading and writing that they have for some reason lost. This illiteracy is due to a variety of causes—ill health, nomadic habits, evacuation during the war and delinquency—but these factors are usually combined, and indeed overspanned, with a low grade of native intelligence.

On return to basic training, these men—now, it is hoped, only 'semi-literate'—are given a 'follow-up' course, and in most cases the results are encouraging not only to the teachers but also to the men who have struggled to rid themselves of a defect in their social qualities about which they have been sensitive and which they have often rationalised into indifference or false pride. It is found that when such men are supplied at this stage with books of normal simplicity about an absorbing individual interest, they 'catch on' with their reading to a remarkable extent. There is a great shortage of such books written for men, yet written simply and with plenty of illustrations. It is not enough to supply such pupils with books—usually school books—of suitable simplicity of words and expression; the books must have an adult point of view. Such adult books (but simply written) on subjects like Association Football, Pigeon Fancying, Horse Racing, How to Make (this and that), Motors, Gardens, Rabbits, Greyhound Racing, Cricket, Films, etc., are greatly needed. Perhaps sympathetic authors will come forward and write them, and paper be allocated to print them. It would indeed be excellent discipline for our authors to write in words of few syllables and obtain an adult effect in a pellucid style.

After the basic training stage, for the rest of the service year, the trainee will receive every week one hour's instruction (including discussion and films) on Human Affairs, Citizenship, and Current Affairs and, in addition,

two hours of 'General Education.' Including the basic training, about 148 hours organised education in his year's service will be provided for the soldier in 'the King's time,' and, in addition, opportunities for continuing his education voluntarily in the evenings. Except for Citizenship and Current Affairs this compulsory general education will be excused to men who have passed the School Certificate or its equivalent but, to these soldiers, every encouragement will be given and assistance rendered for them to continue their personal studies voluntarily within their own time. Facilities to enable such men to attend evening technical and other classes held nearby under the auspices of the local education authority will be (and are) provided, while R.A.E.C. instructors attend every evening at the 'Education Centre' attached to barracks or groups of camps in order to assist, advise, and guide these individual students. Books not available in the unit library and required by voluntary students (and indeed others) are obtained for them from central sources on loan. Men wishing to sit the 'Forces Preliminary Examination' are grouped for intensive courses at central points.

After the initial year, with very few exceptions, the regular soldier will receive four hours per week of compulsory education during ordinary duty hours until he reaches the standard of Part I of the Forces Preliminary Examination or until a total of two years' service is completed. He will, however, be required to attend the periods in Citizenship and Current Affairs throughout his stay in the Army. The regular soldier will also be enabled, in 'the King's time,' to continue, voluntarily, his education so long as this has a definite aim and is not perfunctory in character.

In the voluntary field, clubs and societies of all kinds are encouraged, such as Photographic, Dramatic, Natural History, Debating, Handicrafts and similar clubs, Listening Groups, Cinema Clubs, Brains Trusts, Quiz Parties and similar stimulating assemblies also receive the official blessing and, what is more, assistance in the matter of premises, equipment, and funds.

The personal and voluntary groupings, as the scheme for General Education in the 'King's time' develops fully, will receive a great deal of impetus. An examination of this general education plan is therefore appropriate because,

also, it provides the core of further education in the Army. The General Education Scheme provides compulsory instruction in the 'King's time' in the following subjects: Mathematics, English, History, Geography, Science, and Citizenship and Current Affairs. Three stages are offered and it is expected that the average soldier will be able to cover at least one of these stages during his year of service and possibly a bit more. About 15 per cent. of the intakes, after the initial 'creaming' of suitable soldiers, holding General and Higher School Certificates, for training as Officer Cadets, are expected to be able to take up the most advanced stage of the subjects after some preliminary instruction and training. A further 20 or 25 per cent. are likely to be ready to take the second stage, while the remaining 60 per cent. or so will be fitted for the first stage in the various subjects including a few who will need additional assistance on the semi-literate level.

The Handbook of General Education which the War Office is issuing contains syllabuses in the five 'titles' enumerated above. An interesting experiment in the early stages of the teaching of History and Geography, is the combination of these subjects into one for purposes of teaching—the idea being that the setting of human affairs in time as in History is on the same occasion supplemented, or rather inter-related, with their setting in place as in Geography. For soldiers, this approach is particularly appropriate as this inter-relation can so often be exemplified in the history of the Army and especially in regimental history.

In the most advanced stage, History and Geography are dealt with separately, though this separation is not to be complete but rather a matter of emphasis to lead up easily to the alternative papers in History or Geography as set in the Forces Preliminary Examination which is of School Certificate standard.

The approach to the Science teaching is not from the formal or 'laboratory' end but rather in its human setting and its place in affairs—personal, domestic, national, and world. Science in relation to health, to housing, to industry is especially exemplified, and in this subject, in particular, alternative syllabuses of a nature especially to appeal to women in the A.T.S. are suggested.

The whole emphasis in the syllabuses is upon this

matter of relationship to life. The subjects are dealt with concentric to the person as an individual in society. The treatment is to be flexible with wide possibilities of the subject-matter being adapted by the instructor to meet the peculiar needs of his class and to give full opportunity to his own abilities and interests. Nevertheless, the syllabuses, though wide, are well planned to provide sound standards and a general uniformity in the orthodox subjects taught. To each stage outlined in the Handbook is added a useful list of working and reference books obtainable in the unit library or from other Army sources. Teaching notes of general and of subject character are also included, and the Handbook represents an excellent piece of team work by the War Office Education Staff, who profited widely from the suggestions and criticisms made by Education Officers in the Commands and in the Field as well as by representatives of the Ministry of Education.

A special scheme is set out in the Handbook discussing suitable syllabuses, necessarily of general and suggestive character, which would provide an 'orientation' for the special education of particular bodies of troops due to set out for a foreign country, the syllabus being designed to prepare them for conditions and affairs in their new station. There is also another such discussion of the method of treating and using regimental history to the best effect. Further, an outline plan is supplied to give guidance in the very important matter of applying the usual 'school' subjects to the study of the localities in which the units may be stationed.

Bilinguists are not forgotten and provision is made for the Welshman or the Gael who is fluent in his native tongue and capable of continuing his literary studies in that language.

In this well-conceived scheme of general education, the members of the R.A.E.C. will, obviously, take the most prominent part, but the interest and support of the regimental officers are absolutely necessary and are encouraged. One essential is the appointment from among its members of a suitable 'Unit Education Officer' whose duty it is to coordinate and organise the educational work in his regiment. Then there is the continued interest in, and conduct throughout the soldier's whole service of, the discussions on Current Affairs by the regimental officers.

No reward is held out to the soldier by way of promotion to encourage interest in education but success in this cannot but assist the ambitious ones, if otherwise militarily efficient, to reach the top of the regimental ladder. A simple document certifying the courses attended and the soldier's success therein will, however, be issued and a copy included in his documents. The record will mainly be significant for purposes of higher promotions, etc., though not a condition for such advances in rank.

To make this plan of general education practicable and to give it reality, standard schedules of supplies and equipment, of suitable accommodation, and of establishments of instructors are being applied. The work will not be easy to organise and, in particular, the composition of the various classes so as to have reasonable continuity, and the suitable grading of the soldiers for the various stages of the curriculum will be especially difficult. Experience both for the teaching and the regimental authorities is the only way in which this will come about. The special problem, at present, is, however, the youth and inexperience of the average R.A.E.C. instructor. This is a difficulty apparent in all the activities of the present-day Army and is not peculiar to this corps. To some extent, however, the inexperience of the short-service instructors is off-set by their undoubted enthusiasm. There is no question that these men, after their civil training-college and university courses when they have completed military service, will make excellent teachers for our civil schools. Indeed, the solution of this problem of instructors in Army education might be the deferment of all military service for intending teachers until *after* their university and training courses and their subsequent employment in the Army for a whole year as instructors before they are released to the civil schools. This method would benefit Army education very materially, but it would be of even more value to the local education authorities to have such teachers with a full year of excellent experience in further education. Some such instructors would undoubtedly elect to make Army education their career.

Two Army schools for officers and instructors provide short courses of training in teaching methods to suitably educated soldiers desirous of doing their service as instructors in the R.A.E.C. Certain Army Colleges and

Commands provide similar courses. There is no doubt that the training the instructors receive, though intensive and short, is remarkably beneficial. To this extent, intending teachers can find their compulsory service an additional field of training as well as a valuable first experience in teaching under the supervision of efficient and sympathetic educationists. The criticism might be offered that the scheme, as described very much in outline above, has too much regard for content and not enough for the individual abilities, interests, and skills of the men for whom it is intended. We know how, from eighteen onwards, to the 'scatter' of intelligences is added the even wider differentiations of interests, experience, and outlook. To most men and women, then, the crafts and the skills perhaps become more important than academical knowledge, and there is therefore the danger that the scheme will savour too much of 'going back to school again.'

This is only too true, but the answer is in the right interpretation of the material. There is in the Handbook ample direction for its application in a psychological rather than a logical manner—in other words, a linking of the teaching with individual interests and skills. Already handicrafts rooms of various kinds are springing up in the units where skills can be exercised and the practical activity associated closely with the more academical work. The emphasis upon local studies gives another practical outlet, in respect of History, Geography, Science, and Citizenship in particular, so that Army education need not inflict upon the soldier a new and irksome orthodoxy too reminiscent of the school classroom.

At this stage in the plan, it has been necessary to set an aim in academical studies to prevent the work in the hands of, as yet, somewhat inexperienced instructors becoming too purposeless and diffuse. By allowing selection and flexibility, by emphasis upon the inter-relationship of 'subjects,' and by wise 'suggestions for the consideration' of these young teachers, the worst dangers of a scheme too rigidly based upon the content of knowledge have been avoided. The great need is for experience and for continuity: we are at present in Army education somewhat in the same position as the elementary schools were a generation or so ago when they were rather

rigidly guided by the old Codes of Instruction. This is perhaps an over-simplification of the position, since to the first targets as set out in the syllabuses for Army education have been added a discussion of the ideas in teaching which have grown up in the schools with such fruition since the days of the old codes.

The interpretation of the schemes of work in the Army in the sense of psychological interest rather than in logical routine has been made possible and a practice designed to suit the circumstances of the regiments will, very quickly, emerge as experience is gained and the new Army finds its feet. At any rate, a beginning which might prove epoch-making has been made. The hiatus between the civilian County College and post-service Further Education is being bridged, and the illiterate are being given a new opportunity to recover their place in an educated society—this in itself is educational history in the making.

This article is not the place where the more specialised and advanced military and technical education undertaken in the Army can be discussed. Establishments like the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, and the Royal Military College of Science have reference to the regular officer rather than the citizen soldier. Similarly, the various Army Technical Schools deal with soldiers of technical corps who are making the Army the object of a long period of service under regular engagements.

Reference must however be made to the admirable work done by the Army Colleges—formerly called Formation Colleges—of which there are now two in this country and two in the armies overseas (in Germany and the Middle East). These colleges in the present scheme will continue to provide further education to men and women who are desirous of opportunities for studies, in both technical and general education, more advanced in standard than would be possible in garrison Education Centres and with the units.

These courses, as far as possible, are related to the Government's Training Scheme and especially considerate of those soldiers whose qualifications are suitable for their admission to Universities and other institutions of higher education and to the professions. However, the curriculum is not narrow and the study of Current Affairs and of Citizenship, together with physical education and the

crafts is included. The courses, which are open to all ranks, normally last for twenty-eight days and cover groups like Science and Mathematics, Arts, Crafts, Music and Drama, various Trades, Commerce, Modern Studies, Domestic Subjects, and the Training of Instructors. The courses are mainly designed for service men and women who are shortly to be released or who are on release leave.

So much will now depend upon the efficiency and enthusiasm of the men in control. Already Commanding Officers recognise the value of the Education Scheme. Education in the Army has definitely come to stay. The Army Council fosters the movement; the Treasury has given its blessing. But its success will lie mainly in the drive which commanders at all levels give to the new plan. The Directorate of Army Education will provide the means and the advice, but in the ultimate all depends upon the Unit Commander.

This is something new—yet with roots in a wide field of past experiment and experience. The tree of Army education is being replanted now in a gentler soil; it can become a great oak like that of education in the civilian world. Certain is it that the new plan has been conceived as complementary to the educational developments now taking place in civil life. It may, in the crucial years for young people between eighteen and twenty, provide that very impetus which Further Education in the wider sense has always seemed to require. Coming as it does at the end of the age of compulsory education in civil life, Army education may well establish thoroughly in the people an attitude of mind towards further and adult education which could transform, culturally, our society. It will, at least, forge that vital link between youth on the one hand and the years of discretion on the other and, in this sense, national service can become an integrating factor of great social and personal significance.

FREDERIC EVANS.

Art. 5.—RUSKIN AND ROSIE LA TOUCHE.

It was in 1858 that Ruskin first saw Rosie La Touche. He was then on the threshold of his fortieth year, and had already been through most of life's major experiences. He had passed through Oxford as a fellow-commoner, all the time under the surveillance of a mother, who, inflexible in her march along the path of duty, watched his outgoings and incomings from her eyrie in the judge's lodgings. He had read the Bible from cover to cover over and over again, and written most of the books on art, which have won him a lasting name. He had fallen in and out of love more than once ; he had been married and been divorced.

By 1858 too, Ruskin's 'deconversion' was well on the way. He, who as a young man had 'calls from God,' was beginning to doubt the very foundations of Christianity and to feel that it mattered but little 'whether we expect to be angels, or ever were slugs.' About that date also, his exclusive preoccupation with Art, the result of his almost entirely æsthetic training, was giving ground before a new-found interest in social questions, a divergence from standard that distressed his father almost as much as his apostasy from Calvinism disquieted his masterful mother.

On a day in the beginning of 1858 a letter reached Ruskin inquiring whether 'the only sound teacher in Art' would come and see Mrs La Touche with a view to the instruction of her children. The fates were, as he wrote long afterwards, weaving for him another web of love. Mrs La Touche he found to be 'extremely pretty still,' not at all too old to learn many things. She was some six years younger than he. Rosie, who had just entered upon her ninth year, was summoned to meet the great man. In his seventieth year Ruskin recalled the meeting, she was 'neither short nor tall for her age ; a little stiff in her way of standing. The eyes rather deep blue at that time, and fuller and softer than afterwards. Lips perfectly lovely in profile ; —a little too wide and hard in edge, seen in front ; the rest of the features what a fair well-bred Irish girl's usually are ; the hair perhaps more graceful in short curl round the forehead, and softer than one sees often, in the close-bound tresses above the neck.'

The lessons were so successful that the little circle soon became on pet-name terms ; Mrs La Touche was *Lacerta*—

to signify that she had the tender grace and wisdom of the serpent, without its poison; Ruskin was dubbed St Crummet by Rosie-Posie, the 'St' to signify that he was gentle to beggars.

In 1859 Rosie wrote her first letter to Ruskin. Many years afterwards Ruskin could repeat it by heart, and he wrote it down in 'Preterita' lest it should moulder away and be lost to all loving hearts. In this letter Rosie alludes to herself as a 'hardened little tinner' and beseeches Ruskin not to be king-fishery, i.e. sit sulkily on a branch; but blended with such baby talk there are artistic judgments, a pious wish for Ruskin's happiness—God can make you so—phrases and fancies, that make one understand that Rosie was endowed with a rare intelligence, as well as equipped with all those endearing appeals that find an echo in the hearts of those that are no longer young.

Clear signs of ill-adjusted nerves that had troubled Ruskin's parents at the time of his infatuation with Adèle Domecq showed themselves again as a result of the mental strain involved in the completion of 'Modern Painters' and sent him to the Continent on his first journey without his parents.

There, at Chamouni, he wrote 'Unto this Last' a farewell to his art-work, and there began for him that new epoch of life and death, which he refers to in 'Preterita.' His obsession with a blue-eyed, sunny-haired child of eleven was now complete. 'Rose in heart was with me always and all I did was for her sake.' Her name was ever on his lips, and its unconscious repetition brought from a fellow traveller the query, 'Who is Rosie-Posie?'

Ruskin and Rosie seem to have carried on a most regular correspondence. 'She writes letters to get me to come out of Bye-path Meadow and I won't; she can't write any more just now for she has given herself rheumatism in her fingers by dabbling all day in her hill river, catching crayfish.'

Ruskin, was at the time suffering much from the bodily ills of those who lead a sedentary life and much baffled and perplexed as to what his true calling was. Not long before, he wrote: 'I don't in the least know what might have been the end of it, if a little child (only thirteen last summer) hadn't put her finger on the helm and chosen to make a pet of herself for me and her mother to make a

friend of herself . . . certainly the ablest, and I think the best woman I have ever known.'

His nervous depression, however, continued, and the doctors ordered him to take a holiday abroad. The holiday began and ended at Boulogne, as he could not bear being farther away from Rose, who was then in Ireland. He heard each week from her, and was as happy as he might be 'in the bright little room at Boulogne with a Rosie letter on the table.' Later, he sadly reflected that 'he shall never see *her* again. It's another Rosie every six months now. Do I want to keep her from growing up? Of course I do.' At the end of August 1861 he is able to announce that he is going to Ireland for a day or two to see his little child-pet, though he is still sadly depressed, feeling like a poor weary bee, half dead and nobody caring for it.

The La Touches were a Huguenot family who had fled to Ireland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The story runs that the only piece of tangible property which La Touche brought with him was his Bible. His fellow exiles, however, had such confidence in his ability and probity that they all entrusted their money to him for investment. Very soon La Touche's Bank became the best known private bank in Ireland, and remained so until its absorption by one of the largest joint-stock banks in the life-time of John La Touche, the father of Rose. He appears to have been an amiable dictator, quite open to reason in the ordinary way, but adamant when religion came in question. He had been a man of sin in his heyday, i.e. he had been Master of the Kildare Hounds and a devotee of sports of all sorts, but later, coming into contact with Spurgeon, was converted and rebaptised by him. A Baptist chapel erected at his expense stood upon a corner of his property. With the children at Harristown, Ruskin had high jinks, being well remembered as one who could be relied upon for fairy tale, romance, or large doses of Scott's poetry. With them he wandered along the country roads drawing for them magical word pictures well attuned to the ears of childhood. It was during this visit that Mrs La Touche extorted a promise from him that he would not publish abroad his new religious views for ten years. 'It was the only thing I could do for Mrs La Touche,' he wrote to his father, 'and she would do all she could for me.'

From the date of his Harristown visit, Ruskin's preoccupation with Rose La Touche continued without abatement. By then he had clearly determined that she should one day be his wife and definitely outlined a scheme of education which would fit her for the post, including lessons in Greek, for without Greek Rosie could not read her Bible with complete understanding. The Greek lessons soon came to an end, for Rosie fell seriously ill. To quiet his parents' suspicion he wrote to them, '(her illness) has assuredly nothing to do with any regard for me. She likes me to pet her, but it is no manner of trouble when I go away; her affection takes much more the form of a desire to please me and make me happy in any way she can, than of any want for herself, either of my letters or my company.' When news comes that Rosie is all right again, it is with the ominous proviso that she must not work, compose, write letters or use her head in any way.

About this time Ruskin seems to have been assailed by doubts as to the meetness of a January and May union. At one time he seriously considers his unfitness for active life in society and the stern duty of exercising sharp denial by giving up his pettie; at another, he has difficulty in determining what his future conduct towards the La Touches should be, which depended partly 'on my finding out if possible whether Rose was what her mother and you (his father) think, an entirely simple child, or whether she was what I think her, that is to say, in an exquisitely beautiful and tender way, and mixed with much childishness, more subtle even than Catherine of Boulogne'; at still another time he writes to Dr Brown of his inability to settle to a middle-aged life like a middle-aged creature. In writing of an offer by the La Touches of a little cottage dwelling-house just outside their park-wall he speaks of them as being 'the only people whom I at all seriously care for, in this British group of islands, and who, in any degree of reciprocity seriously care for me.' The plan fell through 'in various, unspeakable—somewhat sorrowful ways,' as Ruskin said, using cryptic exaggerated language as was his wont in speaking of the La Touches. There was a fine quarrel over the outcome with the poor little May of thirteen years old for not helping her January more than she did.

During the years 1862 and 1863 Ruskin was in sore straits. Over and over again he writes to his friends to

the effect that everything is failing him at once—brains, teeth, breath. Mrs La Touche was much concerned about him, and put him into touch with George MacDonald, as being the only person likely to do him good. In gratitude she wrote to MacDonald a letter a portion of which must here be set out in full, as it was the peg upon which in later days was hung the accusation of jealousy on the part of Mrs La Touche. 'I have to thank you for a great deal—most of all for what you could not help—for loving and helping and letting yourself be loved by that poor St C. Nothing will ever get me right, save getting him right—for somehow if he were holding on to a straw and I to a plank, I must leave my plank to catch at his straw. Still, I don't care what becomes of me so long as anyhow he can be brought to some sort of happiness and life. He knows that very well, and is welcome to know it.'

Any fair interpretation of this impulsive expression of a whole-hearted devotion to Ruskin must take into account the Irish idiom of the superlative and the nature of the man to whom it was addressed, whose mind never admitted the thought that that devotion was in any way irregular.

Rose's concern was not so much with Ruskin's unhappiness as with his loss of faith, his heathenism. She was but little fitted at the time to combat her friend's apostasy. In Ruskin's words 'there came on some over-excitement of the brain, causing occasional loss of consciousness, and now she often only seems half herself, as if partly dreaming.' He tells how on one occasion Mrs La Touche cut off a long lock of Rosie's hair for him, and how the latter sent with it a simple direct appeal—'But for the sake of all Truth and Love, you must not give the one true Good—containing all others—God—up,' and again, how she wrote to him—'How could one love you if you were a Pagan?'

In 1864 Ruskin's father died and his cousin Joan Agnew (afterwards Mrs Arthur Severn) came to Denmark Hill 'to keep her faithful watch by his mother's side.' The year was further marked by the delivery of the lectures at Manchester, that afterwards were to be published as 'Sesame and Lilies.' 'I wrote the *Lilies* to please one person' and that person was Rose La Touche.

Letters from Mrs La Touche of about this date give a delightful description of The Wild Rose, out at break of

day—mounted on her cream-coloured pony and accompanied by a huge dog—running in and out of the cabins, as a breeze of wind might do—lost on the moors and rescued by a shepherd boy whom she rewards by the gift of her knife—sometimes, not always pretty—very slender and very fair, and a creature one would readily idealise into a sort of Una—perfectly wild, and in no way to be made into a modern ‘young lady’—a wonderfully *available* little creature in all the saddest realities of life. Such was Ruskin’s Mouse-pet at the time when he wrote that she ‘nibbles me to the very sick-death with weariness to see her.’ It can be taken for certain that the following undated letter was written early in 1865 to a friend who was about to be married. In grim and ruthless words he tells the sad tale of his ill-starred love and abiding misery.

‘Dear Lushington,

It is very nice of you to care so much for my letter—miserable as it was; indeed I have as affectionate regard for you as it is in me to have for any one—having had my regards pretty nearly knocked out of me in various ways; and finding all my pleasure—such as it is—in stones, and flowers; and all my pain in such memories or remains of human affection as hang about me still. For instance, I had a little pet of a girl who was a great deal more than a dog or cat to me—and she went half mad with religion and nearly died—and now she can’t write—or think—consecutively, so that it’s just as if she were dead. So that I can’t write nice letters to happy people, but I *should* like you to be happy—and distinctively too, and do not doubt that you will, and that you will both love and be loved, more than most men can, or can be.

Ever affectionately yours

J. RUSKIN.

Vernon Lushington Esq.

12, Kings Bench Wall, Temple E.C.’

The dark clouds that enshrouded Ruskin still hung over him at the beginning of 1866, but there did come for him a few days of rapture, above all, the second of February—the day that was for ever after to be to him ‘a great festival.’ Long afterwards he wrote, ‘To-morrow, Lady-day it will be thirteen years since she bade me “wait three” and I am tired of waiting.’ In April, Rose paid a visit to Denmark Hill: of that meeting Ruskin wrote, ‘Did you see the gleam of sunshine yesterday? If you only had

seen her in it, bareheaded between my laurels and my primrose bank.'

In the main however, the background of Ruskin's idyll was overhung with the shadow of Rosie's broken health. 'At present,' he wrote in June to Rawdon Brown, 'she is still suffering from the effects of long illness and does not like to talk seriously of anything, least of all of anything likely to give pain either to her parents or to me, and she knows that she can't please both. So she stays my child pet and puts her fingers up if ever I look grave. But they won't let her write to me any more now, and I suppose the end will be as it should be—that she will be a good girl, and do as she is bid.'

When it is remembered that Ruskin's preoccupation with Rosie dated from her ninth year, it cannot be wondered at if her parents failed to observe that, with the passage of the years, the cossetting of a pet child was definitely taking the shape of the adoration of a lover. Now it became clear to them that, as long as Ruskin's beautiful letters continued to reach Rose, there would be recurring mental crises for their daughter arising from the urgencies of Ruskin, her own fears as to his spiritual condition, and the many debates and puzzlements that beset a wearied and enfeebled brain. To Rosie, indeed, the reason for this thwarting restriction was not so clear. She wrote in her diary, 'The letters which Mr Ruskin wrote me only helped me, and did me no harm, whatever others may say.' Necessarily further correspondence was forbidden, but otherwise it does not appear that there was any serious breach between Ruskin and the La Touches.

Notwithstanding the ban, some way of corresponding was evolved. In July of the same year Ruskin wrote to his mother, 'Since Rosie sent me that last rose after refusing her other lover, I have felt so sure of her, that everything else begins to be at peace with me.'

Ruskin's own account of these days is to be found in letters which have recently come into the hands of the writer. They are addressed to a childhood friend of his father.

'Denmark Hill, S.

Dear Mrs Douglas,

I do not well know what I am doing or saying or answering, just now, for since I wrote you from Cumberland I have had a

great deal to bear of a singular and utterly confusing and numbing sorrow—the “old story” in one of its bitterest mocking forms—dullness and sin—and vain jealousy prevailing at last against all good—the mean against the noble—and the false against the faithful—and I am compelled to see it from the distance—helpless—and I am not able to do anything but mechanical work—nor to leave *that*, without getting ill. I should have come to see you, had it not been for this—I may sometimes write a word or two on some necessary public matter—but for the rest, I am stupid with pain and not fit to go anywhere and my letters get heaped in drawers unread—Forgive me, and believe my assurance of the entire respect and gratitude with which—when I am myself—I should always reply to the slightest word from my father’s old friend.

Ever faithfully and affectionately yours,

J. RUSKIN.’

‘Denmark Hill,

8th February 1868

Dear Mrs Douglas,

What can I say to you for so kind a letter—I must come and see you—assuredly it will do me good to see you, and to tell my mother about you, though you cannot help me as you think.

In a word and to prevent you from any needless trouble of thinking about me—this is the thing—I had a very dear woman friend, who had a lovely little daughter who was eleven years old when I was forty; and I did not care (and do not care) for anything in the world but these two creatures.

Eleven and forty would have gone quite placidly and *rightly* into twelve and forty-one and she been always as a child to me, and so on, if the father and mother had left us quite alone—But when it came to sixteen and forty-five—the mother got jealous of the daughter and pulled us sharply asunder and then I quarrelled with *her*, for being foolish and wicked and things got darker—till it came to eighteen and forty-seven—and then the daughter spoke to me and asked me to wait for “three years.”

So then the parents put their full strength out, and made her wretched—and at last, two months ago, they conquered her—and I am forty-nine to-day, and have nothing that I care for in the world—but flints, for the finishing and the perfect evil of the things is, that this child was my last anchor in my old faith—She always told me—“Trust in God, and me,” and her failure is the failure of *all*.

Yes: I can make many people happy. That is pleasant—in its way: but it becomes a burden at last—this depending of

many things upon you, when every thing you yourself depend on is being torn away.

However, I do not doubt but that still in vacancy, I shall in a sort "live and move and have my being," and be of some use. I have necessary business on Monday, but I hope to run down to see you on Tuesday—or at latest on Wednesday.

Ever gratefully yours,

J. RUSKIN.'

Letters to the same friend in March show Ruskin to be still sad and dejected. In one he described himself as being 'very unwell at present, and quite unable to write, or to go out,' unable even to send any cheerful messages for the children, than which there could be no more convincing proof that grief had blunted what might be called one of his most characteristic impulses: in another letter he discloses himself as being 'in a state of pause and suspense just now—which will most probably end in my going abroad at once, to get some change of work and scene.'

In 'The Mystery of a Life and its Arts,' a lecture delivered in Dublin on May 13, 1868, Ruskin alludes to one of the bars which separated him from Rosie, 'I will speak of the morbid corruption and waste of vital power in religious sentiment, by which the pure strength of that which should be the guiding soul of every nation, the splendour of its youthful manhood, and spotless light of its maidenhood is averted or cast away.'

By this time the stage was fully set for a tussle between the La Touches and the more ardent friends of Ruskin, e.g. Mrs Cowper (to Ruskin, always Egeria or Isola) his cousin Joan and Mrs George MacDonald (and later her husband Dr George MacDonald) through whom, or some of whom, a clandestine correspondence between Ruskin and Rosie was maintained.

On the other hand tittle-tattle (then current in the literary circles of London as to the abnormality, immorality, and decadence of Ruskin) was reaching the La Touches and hardening their antipathy to a marriage with Ruskin.

Ruskin and his friends countered with representations that his previous marriage with Miss Gray had been in no sense a real union; that it had been arranged by Ruskin's parents, and had never been consummated; that he had striven hard to make her happy and contented, but all was

in vain, in short, that when she left Ruskin for Millais it was but the end of a loveless union, the snapping of a meaningless shackle. How much of the indictment or of the defence was made known to Rosie at this time it is extremely difficult to say. The MacDonalds were clearly of opinion that much was kept from her, but it is very easy to forgive the concealment on the part of the parents of a girl over whom there hung the ever deepening shadow of religious melancholy. One thing, however, is clear—Mrs La Touche on learning of the besetment of Rosie, took the wise course, and made direct inquiry of Effie Millais in October 1870, who in her reply told her a tale of much sadness—how immediately after marriage Ruskin had told her that he did not intend to marry her, later excusing himself by saying that she had an internal disease. She denied that the marriage had been arranged by anybody. In truth, anyone who has read the love-letters by John Ruskin in 1847 and 1848, instinct as they are with love and at times with passion, must recognise the essential verity of her statement. In detail she confuted the charge that she did not agree with his pursuits; she asserts that she left her husband without his connivance; ‘His conduct to me was most impure,’ she writes, and ‘he is quite unnatural and in that one thing all the rest are embraced.’

In all respects 1871 was a bad year for John Ruskin. Towards the beginning of it he described himself as ‘frost-bitten in soul as well as body, winter and summer, and New Year and old.’ His mother and his old nurse died. Joan Agnew married Arthur Severn, and he had a very serious illness at Matlock with some mental disturbance. That matters were not much better with Rosie can be guessed from a reference to her in one of his letters to his mother. Her letters to Mr George MacDonald at that period betrayed a puzzlement of ‘a brain that cannot stand perplexity.’ She writes of her great mental agony at the inequalities of life—Christians faring on forced strawberries and cream while the babies of the poor lack milk—of her intense realisation of the darkness and suffering of the world—of the inadequacy of her own life—of the want of harmony at home, where she cannot be satisfied with the religion of her father, ‘Be happy yourself, separate yourself from the world, and preach to those you can reach,’ and where a devoted mother cannot bear to talk on the subjects she

feels most strongly upon, their struggles to understand each other but ending in wakeful nights for both. She reiterates the belief that she will never marry and then there follows immediately an obvious reference to Ruskin, 'If it could have been so that I could have kept the friend who has brought such pain and suffering and torture and division among so many hearts—if there had never been anything but friendship between us—how much might have been spared.'

This is the only statement of either Ruskin or Rose from which it could possibly be inferred that Rose was ever in love (that chameleon word) with Ruskin; though it must be admitted that the fairer inference would be that Rose here regrets the loss of a friend rather than that of a lover. Miss Young in 'Letters of a Noble Woman' (Mrs La Touche) wrote in few but emphatic words, 'Rose did not want to marry Ruskin, but her parents could not bring her to see that continuing her friendship with him was encouraging his misplaced hopes.' Ruskin himself, who knew and said that his own vanity was extreme, never put the case much higher. He has said very clearly that he never knew what it was to have love answered, and as late as 1871 regretted that he had never been chastened by a woman's love, or strengthened by her courage; and guided by her discretion. These are but a few of many similar statements. Almost immediately after writing the letters, the gist of which has been given, the doctors ordered for Rose a change of scene and she went to stay with the Cowper Temples at Broadlands, unaccompanied by her mother. Apparently the Cowper Temples and the MacDonalds saw in this visit a chance to bring to a successful issue a scheme to unite Rosie and Ruskin. The details of that scheme can only be guessed from documents quoted by Dr Greville MacDonald in 'Reminiscences of a Specialist.*' The first is a telegram from Ruskin (then in Italy) to George MacDonald 'I will not move unless in certainty of seeing her. If you and Mrs MacDonald can bring her to Italy, I will meet you at Geneva.' In a letter written from Venice on June 30 Ruskin wrote that he would meet the party, Rosie and Mr and Mrs MacDonald, going on, 'I will have no talking

* London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

... I trusted her with my whole heart; she threw it to the dogs to eat, and must be satisfied. But we might at least contrive that we could each think of the other without horror'; then on July 3 he wrote, 'She need not fear exciting vain hopes—nor need you.'

The scheme fell through. Rosie did not go and Ruskin came home at the end of July, induced to do so by a letter from Mrs MacDonald. Shortly before Ruskin's return, Rose wrote to George MacDonald a letter in which she confesses her want of trust in Ruskin. 'If your faith in Christ was wholly shaken, or irretrievably gone, would you not be a different man, would not life be a different thing to you? You will understand, almost in the same way, how the absolutely over-turning of a strongly spiritual love and faith alters the whole existence; and a child's love, growing on year after year, deepening in silence and suffering becomes a strong, intense spiritual power and passion.'

Dr Greville MacDonald considers the last sentence of this letter to be an open confession of Rosie's love for Ruskin. Certainly love of a sort is here spoken of, a spiritual love. The reiteration of the word is full of meaning. Not such was the love that Ruskin sought; he well knew the difference between love mundane and love spiritual. In 1874 he wrote to Miss Susan Beever 'I wanted my Rosie *here*. In Heaven I mean to go and talk to Pythagoras and Socrates and Valerius Pablicola. I shan't care a bit for Rosie there, she needn't think it. What will grey eyes and red cheeks be good for there?'

From the Cowper Temples Rose went on a visit to the MacDonalds; there for three days Ruskin had every opportunity to plead his cause, but Rose does not appear to have receded in any way from the position that she had taken. Both of them wrote of these meetings, Ruskin to MacDonald and Rosie to Mrs MacDonald. Rosie's letter makes her resolution very clear, 'I cannot be to him what he wishes, or return the vehement love which he gave me, which petrified and frightened me.' Clearly love was still a term equivocal. Ruskin's letter strikes the same note, 'she cannot forbid my loving her, though she fain would,' but behind his pain there is a sub-note of joy. 'I have had three days of heaven, which I would have

very thankfully bought with all the rest of my life. . . . ' She brought me back into life . . . with the first full look of her eyes,' and then the note prophetic, ' her illness is very grave.' On the next day Ruskin ecstatically writes, probably from Broadlands, ' I had another day—from morn till even—on Monday—and should be content to die now—if I am never to have another.' From Broadlands the scene shifts to Toft Hall in Cheshire, the residence of the Leycesters, close relatives of Mrs Cowper Temple. Here he again meets Rose and on his return to London recorded the meeting in simple and touching language, ' In the morning, in church at Toft, beside R. Now at the corner of a room in Euston Square Hotel, altogether miserable.'

The sense of impending tragedy, which can never be far absent from one who puzzles over the story of Ruskin and Rose, deepens into an awful certainty, as that story draws to a close. In these final years Rose, caught in the net of a deep religious melancholy, was an abiding source of sorrow for her parents and friends.

Sometimes the clouds lifted for a space, there were high hopes ' that by peace and time her state might be redeemable ' and ' the loveliest letters from Ireland.' The relief, however, was to be but transient. Again Rose came to London, in search of that health and well-being that never was to be hers again. There Ruskin was privileged to be with her for a few days, but the only thing that is known of their meeting is that he then wrote to Carlyle, ' I was going to have brought poor Rosie to see you, but she is too ill to bear coming out just now.'

The next news is to be found in ' Fors Clavigera,' where Ruskin writes, in January 1875, ' The woman I hoped would have been my wife is dying.' It is difficult to imagine why Ruskin was moved thus to bare his deep sorrow to the general gaze ; it was certainly not his wont to speak so clearly of the woman he loved.

Rose La Touche died in May 1875. Once again Carlyle was the confidant of Ruskin's sorrow, ' I had just got it (Academy Notes) done, with other wordliness, and was away into the meadows, to see buttercup and clover and bean-blossom, when the news came that the little story of my wild Rose was ended, and the hawthorn blossoms, this year would fall—over her.'

In view of the bitter words that have been written by Mrs Williams-Ellis of the La Touches in 'The Tragedy of John Ruskin,' where she permits herself to speak of a 'Rose La Touche driven mad by her parents who would, almost certainly, have been willing to marry Ruskin, but for a jealous mother'—'Almost certainly' has all the uncertainty of 'probably,' and probability may be the guide of life, but it is a poor staff for a biographer. Such accusations could easily be rebutted but here it must suffice to point to the early restoration of the old friendly feelings between the La Touches and Ruskin.

At the beginning of 1878, Mrs La Touche is to be found corresponding with Joan Severn, calling her and her husband by their Christian names, planning a visit by Ruskin to Ireland, where Lacerta will greet him with banners and bonfires. Meantime the latter writes to 'dearest Lacy' sending her a pretty diamond. She helps him in the writing of 'Proserpina,' and both La Touches are welcomed at Coniston, Mrs La Touche staying more than once at Brantwood.

Ruskin's feeling for Mrs La Touche is written down by his own hand, 'and indeed and in truth there is *no-one* who can help me as you can, for you see with my eyes and more—and feel as I feel—perhaps in some directions only the least bit less—and speak more clearly than any living animal can speak or sing, except an Irish woman.'

About the middle of the last year in which John Ruskin was capable of writing a letter he wrote to 'darling Lacy,' 'this only I have to say, that I believe the Master (i.e. John La Touche) and you are going to be more to me than all the other dearnesses yet remaining . . . and if I can live a year or two yet, you will both be happy in me.—Ever your lovingest, J.R.' These are not words which John Ruskin, or any other man with a human heart, could have addressed to a woman who, driven by jealousy, had put an end to his dearest hopes.

The real character of Rose La Touche has been much obscured by writers who have represented her as infirm of purpose and blown hither and thither by the winds of indecision. As seen by those who well knew Rose or her family, she presents a different picture. Miss Young reports her to have been not all amenable to family tradition, a heedlessness that in a *jeune fille* of the Ireland of her

day argues a hardness of will that can scarce be exaggerated. She certainly had political and social ideas imbibed from Ruskin that ill accorded with the conservatism of her father and the aristocratic temperament of her mother: in religious matters she had what might be called the simple Biblical Christianity of her father but with more regard for the bodily welfare of her fellows, and but little of the breadth of view of her mother, who at one time published a booklet, 'The Bitter Cry of Esau,' the burden of which was that there was room for all in heaven. The quality of firmness, even of severity, was reflected in Rose's face. One who knew her speaks of the firmness of her mouth, another, of her chiselled beauty 'too severe to be entirely delightful to all people.' She was an accomplished horsewoman and devoted to outdoor life and yet brilliant in conversation with an encyclopædic memory. A writer in the 'Outlook' tells us that once a stranger seeing her for the first time said, 'She looked like a young sister of Christ.'

It is difficult to square these characteristics with a love-lorn, weak-willed Rose, done to death by narrow-minded parents. Rather should she be thought of as a beautiful and cultured young woman unable to transmute a pupil's adoration of a man thirty years her senior into that love which depends on neither will nor reason.

Sad was her simple story, but who knowing what is now known will dare to say that he honestly wishes that Rose La Touche had married John Ruskin?

WALTER S. SCOTT.

Art. 6.—THE LINGUISTIC FIELD—FOREVER BABEL?

THE problems of language are many, and I want to draw attention to some with social or international bearings. A consideration of the nature, development, and origin of language is above all else a social study. It includes the relationship of languages, their descent, correctness of speech, and the possibility of a standard language, as well as the desirability of an international language in removing obstacles to free intercourse among peoples, the adjustment among individuals of a society speaking a common tongue, dialectical variations, speech-forms peculiar to occupational and other groups, disturbances in individual speech, changes in meaning, characteristic national speech melody, spelling reform, and a host of others arising from the use of some of man's chief tools—words.

This field of study lies within the province of philology in its widest sense, including polite literature and all human liberal studies. Nowadays it is sometimes limited to the important branch of comparative grammar and to its descendant, the science of linguistics. The discoveries of comparative philology, those of Sir William Jones, the Dane Rask, and the German Grimm, were only one portion of the great discovery of the nineteenth century—the historical or evolutionary point of view. Jespersen said, 'It was left to that century to discover the idea of development or evolution as pervading the whole universe.'

Previous generations had regarded languages as starting ready-made from the Tower of Babel, just as they had regarded species of animals as emerging ready-made from the Garden of Eden. Some people, however, realised that certain languages are related. The use of the terms High Dutch and Low Dutch shows that it was felt that the languages of Austria and of Holland were branches of one speech. Dante noticed that French, Italian, and Provençal have many words in common. Therefore, he argued, they must be dialects of one speech, not languages due to the confusion of tongues at Babel. Dante thought that if the difference between French and Italian had been due to God's confounding of the original tongue of mankind, the confusion would have been more absolute: a less imperfect job would have been made of it.

The poet also realised how languages changed. He

worked the thing out from fundamental principles and said, 'Since man is a most unstable and changeable animal, no human speech can be permanent and continuous.' And so, when Dante met Cacciaguida in Heaven, his great-great-grandfather addressed him, 'not in this our modern tongue, but with a voice more sweet and soft.'

For a time, Dante thought that Hebrew was the original tongue of mankind and that it had been handed down by the tiny majority refusing to have anything to do with the building of the Tower. He alludes to the foolish people convinced that their own particular dialect must have been the original speech of Adam. Centuries later, Andre Kempe, in a treatise on the language of Paradise, maintained that God spoke to Adam in Swedish, Adam replied in Danish, and the serpent spoke to Eve in French.

It was the opening up of India and the discovery of Sanscrit by European, and especially English, soldiers at the end of the eighteenth century, that brought about a new view. Sir William Jones stated that Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin must all have 'sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists,' and that Gothic, Celtic, and Old Persian may have the same origin.

Rasmus Rask followed up the path indicated. A man of great linguistic gifts, he also possessed an intensely scientific mind. Rask discovered that the changes by which the languages had become differentiated from each other were not merely accidental and unaccountable corruptions, but that they took place according to certain fixed rules, deducible, not super-imposed, and that these rules could be stated. Faint traces of this had been perceived before—it had been noted, e.g. how often, when you found a 'p' in Latin (*pes*), you have an 'f' in the corresponding Germanic words (*foot*, *fuss*). But in 1818, Rask formulated a whole series of correspondences as between Greek and Latin sounds on the one side and Icelandic on the other. Four years later Grimm developed these rules and added many illustrations. The series of sound-shifts became known as Grimm's law. Both men proved that changes of sound took place in accordance with definite rules. Thus the science of etymology was founded and soon the Indo-European parent-language was reconstructed. Streitberg compiled a comprehensive dictionary of Indo-European root-words. Like Esperanto,

Indo-European is synthetic. The nearest related language with a literature is Sanscrit.

Turn briefly to the present linguistic field and examine parts of it. The United Nations Organisation works for federation as the basis of a stable and well-balanced order of society which some thinkers affirm as impossible in a continent composed of numerous disintegrated sovereign states imbued with economic chauvinism. A valuable lesson is surely taught by existing federations, such as the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, Switzerland, and the U.S.S.R.

Foremost among the problems bearing on the establishment of more federations, say in Europe, is that of language. The lack of a common tongue is a disadvantage here. Linguistic affinity has been largely achieved in Russia, where there are nearly 200 million people speaking more than 100 different languages and dialects. Yet the Soviet Union, racially and linguistically so diverse, has achieved political unity and economic stability. The Russian language is by far the most important, and is spoken or understood by about 130 million people. A knowledge of it is essential for participation in the administrative duties of the Central Soviet, and Russian is a second Esperanto taught in all schools of the constituent republics. However, at the same time the languages of the different republics have in no way been eclipsed, either philologically or from the literary aspect. Here is a truly democratic contrast to Nazism: every language is an integral part of the culture of the U.S.S.R. and is respected. The position is, of course, not unlike that within the Empire and that of spoken Mandarin in all the Chinese provinces. Is an analogous solution for other parts of Europe impossible?

Although the languages of Europe are many, three, English, French, and German, are used by nearly two-thirds of the population, excluding European Russia. The commercial and diplomatic influences of these three languages is far-reaching, and their status in European Federal Administrations set up after the war is similar to that of Russian in the structure of the U.S.S.R., and, I think, a more practical proposition than the adoption of an artificial language like Esperanto, which has at most 40,000 adherents throughout the world. Personally I favour Basic English, supplemented where necessary

among the Southern, Romance nations by Basic French. The British Empire and Russia prove that this can enrich national, cultural, and artistic values for the common good. The national languages of all the states will still play their rôle in the intellectual heritage of Europe because of their great literary traditions.

Switzerland and French-speaking Canada may also be quoted in support of this view. In Switzerland, federation is nearly a century old. Twenty-two cantons with local parliaments send representatives to the Bund at Berne. Seventy per cent. of the Swiss speak Alemannic German, 20 per cent. French, 6 per cent. Italian, and 4 per cent. Romansch, a Romance dialect, recognised as the fourth official language. A member may address the Assembly in any one of the first three languages. In Canada, both English and French are officially recognised. The French Canadians ('habitants') form 30 per cent. of Canada's population; their language and literature flourish. They are surrounded by more than 140 million English-speaking people. Europe could have no peace or cultural prosperity until the artificial racial barriers of Hitler's order were stormed. Dialects are no obstacles to true federation or to national unity. Joseph Wright's monumental 'English Dialect Dictionary' proves that unity in diversity has long been attained, and in his preface he points out:

'The working classes speak quite differently among themselves than when speaking to strangers, and it is no easy matter for an outsider to induce them to speak pure dialect, unless the outsider happens to be a dialect speaker himself. An excellent example of this came before me the other day in a Westmorland village. A man said to me: "The roads are dirty," and I said to him: "Dooent ye say oop 'ere 'at t'reads is mucky?" With a bright smile on his face he replied: "We dew," and forthwith began to speak the dialect in its pure form.'

This must, however, not cause us to overlook the fact that pure dialect speech is gradually dying out in England, as in France. The speech of the younger people is not that of their parents or grandparents. A living language must change: we are unconsciously being 'educated' into uniformity of speech. Sentimental regrets are vain. Life becomes richer, more humane, if we sometimes spare a

little time to consider the science of speech and when we write to take pains in finding the right word so important socially.

Some of the great Greeks used to wonder at things that other people took for granted. They speculated on the form of words, on the relation between things and their names. Some argued that language was natural and regular; others pointed to its irregularities. The origin of language was a riddle which they were content to solve by viewing it as a direct gift from heaven or as an invention by some ancient hero or, again, as the product of a mystical folk-spirit.

Not so long ago rational theories arose regarding speech, which is older than writing and was probably preceded by gestures. The 'bow-wow' theory claims that man imitated noises like 'quack-quack'; whilst the 'pooh-pooh' theory holds that speech evolved from exclamations of pain and pleasure, like 'oo-er!' or the simple 'ah!'

The 'yo-he-ho' theory suggests that muscular efforts, especially if rhythmical, are usually accompanied by intermittent valvular action in the glottis (space between the vocal cords) within the larynx (upper part of the wind-pipe) or of the tongue and lips. This involves holding the breath and letting it escape, sometimes with the vibration of our vocal cords termed 'voice.' Noises accompanying group activities like feeding, hauling timber, and fighting are embryo words, as is the 'heave! yo-he-ho!' ('and a bottle of rum') ending the chorus of a deep-sea shanty. Many stimuli tended to induce movements—gesture, facial expression, cries. Then sounds became more purposive; early man found them an efficient aid in climbing and self-protection. The larynx was evolved and man's use of it produced speech. Voice travels well, especially from heights, and was found to have survival and social value. The degeneration of the sense of smell freed the soft palate from contact with the epiglottis (sort of lid to the larynx closing in eating) and allowed sounds to escape through the gap. Gesture language also developed for use of the deaf and dumb, and, of course, is not absent from the conversation of many speakers, especially Southern Europeans. A nod or a shake of the head is almost universal in meaning; but the native of Hindustan does not understand our method of beckoning—the palm

of the hand must be turned downwards, whilst the fingers perform a scooping motion.

Writing is the representation of speech. Language has been made tangible, portable, permanent. Words are spoken, heard, written, seen, felt (as in Braille) and signalled by the deaf-mute and in Morse. Now recorded speech is as permanent as a book. The radiation of speech over distances in all directions almost instantaneously is a social force of incalculable power. The most important implement of that power is the English language, and never before has the community been so speech-conscious.

There are spoken languages not yet reduced to writing. Moreover, organic changes in language first come about in speech, and only seldom does spelling influence pronunciation. The old pronunciation of 'Cirencester' as 'sisiter' has almost died out. Most older grammarians believed in arbitrary linguistic standards and were not interested in the vernacular; the modern philologist since Grimm is a linguistic biologist studying changes in sounds and words scientifically. Many young people do not talk as their fathers did. There is flux and change—some say from bad to worse. Most scholars, like Jespersen, believe in progressive evolution and find that English is now the most advanced analytical language—almost a world-language of which none need be ashamed.

Basic English has now been accepted, like Pidgin, by the British Government as an auxiliary international language, a lead quickly followed by the education ministries of the governments of France, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Norway, and Yugoslavia, all of whom plan to make English or French a compulsory language in all primary schools. The report recently adopted by the joint committee of these nations recommended:

1. That the teaching of French and English should be obligatory in all primary schools in Europe;
2. That the teaching of English should be more widely extended in view of the rôle this language will be called upon to play in international life after the war;
3. That the use of French and English only should be authorised at International Congresses, and that all international publications should appear in these two languages only.

The report speaks of the reasons which militate in

favour of the adoption of the two languages. After the last war, German and Italian stand no chance of being recognised as international languages. Spanish is used as an international medium in some countries, but, apart from certain spheres, it does not possess the necessary qualities. From the grammatical and phonetic point of view, Russian is too difficult, except for the Soviet Union and the Slav countries.

In the centre, south and south-east of Europe, French is more current than English; on the other hand, in the Scandinavian countries, English is more widely learned than French. In Holland, both languages are equally known. The report concludes by saying that the two languages should be employed as the international media without one being recommended to the detriment of the other.

The Basic English scheme of Ogden and Richards has 850 words, including only eighteen verbs, and a very simple grammar. Many technical terms will need to be added, but the vocabulary is adequate for practical purposes. It may not be a bad thing to say 'go in' for 'penetrate,' and 'flow out' for 'exude,' or 'go across' for 'traverse.' Basic is in use for teaching purposes in India, China, and elsewhere.

In various parts of the world intercourse between Europeans and natives has produced living contact vernaculars like Pidgin English and Sabir (the truncated French dialect of West Africa). Pigdin is a tribute to native genius which in New Guinea and elsewhere in the Pacific has become a key to still closer understanding.

Physicist and phonetician cultivate a listening attitude free from the bondage of traditional speech and the prejudice of the Babu idolising a bookish language. They record and analyse, separate 'tame' (teim) from 'tam,' the latter a linguistic economy, heard in some circles, and they appreciate dialectical variations like the Devon 'yuem' (jy:m) meaning 'you're' and shortened from 'you am.'

There has been much interest in the question whether all thinking is 'inner' speech. Do we in reading or recalling a sentence feel the twitter of the vocal organs? Experiment proves that only about 4 per cent. of people do so. Hold your lower lip out of the mouth between thumb

and finger and repeat silently 'Peter Piper picked a peck.' If there is no articulatory discomfort, the case for inner speech is largely proven. Purposive thinking probably involves an element of inner speech, of incipient muscular movement relating to audible speech.

By speech-habit, certain combinations of sounds have acquired cumulative, suggestive value in related languages, e.g. 'sl' in slack, slouch, slum, slosh, sloppy, slobber, etc. The sound has become 'meaningful,' pejorative, many depreciatory words beginning with 'sl.' Many 'nonsense' words are not without meaning. A child's 'brunch' is a fusion of two phonetic situations—breakfast and lunch. The learner of Romance languages will discover similar speech habits in all and will find out the scientific worth of Latin. Hence the practical value, too, of Anglo-Saxon for the Germanic languages—a technique making it easier to pass from one language to another. Icelandic is the basis of the Scandinavian languages.

In all spoken languages there is a wide range of acceptable variations. A striking line of cleavage is often one of social class. Children born into privileged homes come to use what is termed good or standard English, e.g. 'I haven't any,' compared with the sub-standard 'I ain't got none.' Yet widely different pronunciations are equally acceptable, e.g. Northern and Southern English 'castle' and 'home.' When dialectical or occupational variations from standard forms are marked the speakers will for the sake of good business also use one of the latter free from unusual features. The distribution of dialectical forms has in many cases been traced on maps, e.g. the parts of north-east England using 'brang' for 'brought,' and the regions of France saying the old form 'cat' for Parisian 'chat.'

I would distinguish Standard English, really a class dialect, from educated English spoken all over the world with a wide range of variation. Why should any speaker submerge his geographical origin? There is need of a universal English acceptable in America and the Dominions, resenting unhealthy speech effects. A pure English crusade can safely be Anglo-American. Educated speakers everywhere form a community whose speech conforms within reason to a serviceable standard. Educational and broadcasting cooperation make a compromise dialect

feasible without any sense of artificiality. Phoneticians would notate the agreed sounds of this universal English already spoken by about 180 million people and so simple in grammar. I would suggest as a beginning the northern 'castle,' and northern 'home,' but not 'ai' in 'tame'; a rising intonation as in Australian English and French; some nasalisation which has great carrying power; not some Australian 'l's' but the front 'l' of Phillip; nor a form like 'sky:l' for 'school'; nor the glottal stop in 'Louise'; and a basic vocabulary of say the 3,000 most commonly occurring words as already listed in Canada. Mr Churchill at Harvard made a strong plea for Basic English; Mr Roosevelt followed in support.

Such a standard universal English would for a time go hand in hand with dialect. The compromise is being brought about gradually and is free from offence on both sides of the water and free from the speech affectations pilloried by Molière and Bernard Shaw. We are responsible for the only possible world language. In the loom of life a myriad coloured threads are intertwined in the rich fabric of modern civilisation; and English speech is one of the integrating influences giving us that unity in diversity sought for by all men of good intent. Meanwhile, as a corollary, all might try to acquire a listening ability in several languages. There may be one cue for communication among men and women everywhere in Boswell's report that 'the General spoke Italian and Dr Johnson English, and understood one another very well.'

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Art. 7.—BRITISH RAILWAYS: PAST AND PRESENT.

I. SOME RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS OF
A RAILWAYAC.

In the days of my youth a word was in use to describe the enthusiast for railways, locomotives, types, speeds, and the rest of the interests which the sight of a railway track awakened. A 'Railwayac' was the word; and although it now seems to have become extinct, the persons who could still claim title to it are a goodly company of old and young. The enthusiasm which greeted the resurrection of Patrick Stirling's first eight-foot single out of York Railway Museum in 1938, with its train of antique coaches in the style of the Race to Edinburgh, came of both kinds but mainly of those who had grown up under the Railways Act, 1921, and knew the remoter past in books; for the event celebrated the passage of fifty years since the Race of 1888, and of no less than sixty-eight years since the first appearance of the veteran locomotive on the metals of the Great Northern Railway. In spite of the correction of some early myths which credited the new type with speeds unheard of at the time, these locomotives were among the pioneers in railway speed in the nineteenth century.*

In explanation of this early reference to one line, I should put in plea my own early interest in railways, which was begun on that line in the 'nineties, even before the first publication of 'The Railway Magazine' in 1897. The cover then exhibited an eight-foot single hauling an express at speed over a junction, with the characteristic somersault signals of the Great Northern back at danger. But before that, thanks to an engineering cousin who had access to Great Northern footplates, and afterwards, as Winteringham, Ltd., was known as a pioneer in scale-model locomotives which he designed for the enterprising firm of Bassett-Lowke, Ltd.—his scale model of a Great Northern Atlantic long survived as a show piece in their

* The mention of an 'eight-foot single' in the first paragraph suggests that some illustration of terms used in these pages may assist the reader. It is mainly a matter of wheel arrangements. Thus: 8-ft. single or '8-footer,' 4-2-2, 00 0 0; four-coupled bogie, 4-4-0, 00 00; Atlantic, 4-4-2, 00 00 0; six-coupled bogie, 4-6-0, 00 000; Pacific, 4-6-2, 00 000 0; Prairie (L.N.E.R. Green Arrow) 2-6-2, 0 000 0; Mikado, 2-8-2, 0 0000 0; Mountain, 4-8-2, 00 0000 0; Mogul, 2-6-0, 0 000.

Holborn emporium—my interest started with Stirling's 'eight-footers.' Frequent journeys between London and Lincolnshire from my earliest youth found their dominating interest in catching sight of these locomotives, if possible at speed; and one of my earliest memories is of Retford station, where we used to change in order to proceed by the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway to an ancestral destination near the Humber. The change of trains at Retford recalls some railway history. At that early period in my infancy I could hardly be expected to know that the M.S. & L., known also as the 'Sheffield,' although committed to a fifty years' agreement with the G.N.R., and engaged in a joint service between King's Cross and Manchester—the 'Manchester Fliers'—with the aid of G.N. finance, had made so many overtures to other companies as to earn the nickname of 'The Railway Flirt'; or that in 1873 Mr Denison, Q.C. (afterwards Lord Grimthorpe) had to give a public reminder of G.N. generosity and M.S. & L. ingratitude: 'We picked the "Sheffield" up out of the dirt.' But these unflattering terms might suggest our own reaction on changing from the G.N. express to the 'Sheffield' slow. Nor could I then know that when Sir Edward Watkin successfully extended the 'Sheffield' to Marylebone (but not, as he had planned, to Paris!) with the ambitious title 'The Great Central,' his enterprise would not be without errors of which the consequences remain to this day. First, the financing partner was reduced to a 'foreign' company with mere running powers to Sheffield and Manchester from the junctions at Retford and Nottingham; and the hostility of the 'Sheffield' and consequent late running of the G.N. Manchester trains caused the diversion of dissatisfied passengers not to Marylebone, but to the Midland which gained a valuable Manchester traffic and also became the legatee of another benefit which the 'Sheffield' forfeited. For, secondly, the new main line avoided the thriving town of Chesterfield (see footnote, p. 241), and left it on a loop which added some five miles to the route from Sheffield to London and is still cited in explanation of the paucity of expresses which use it. When the new G.C.R. flaunted its service of trains to and from the North, it seemed content to leave the considerable Chesterfield-London traffic to the Midland with its draughty, dingy,

and disagreeable station in which, as in other ways, a spice of competition might have produced some improvement. The Midland, as lately the L.M.S.R., treated this traffic as of enough importance to stop a large proportion of its Scottish, Leeds, and Bradford trains there; but the relative speed and punctuality of the Sheffield-Marylebone expresses not only would have been, and would be now, of benefit to a large population, but would have brought traffic to the G.C.R. and more recently to the L.N.E.R. which suffered yet another bad legacy from the same source (see p. 235).

Although these are memories mostly of things long past, some of the subjects of any railwayac's recollections happily have been preserved in their original form and colours. In York Railway Museum some veterans of the pioneering past still look very much alive: Stirling's No. 1, aforementioned; Ivatt's first Atlantic of 1898, No. 990, afterwards named 'Henry Oakley' after the General Manager, a new departure in British locomotive design; two North Eastern locomotives, the later of them being of the 4-4-0 type which figured in the Race to Aberdeen in 1895 and earned the description 'the redoubtable Aberdeen Flier'; the Stroudley 0-4-2, 'Gladstone,' which fairly represents the 'Brighton' of fifty years ago; and the Great Western 'City of Truro,' whose reputed speed of 102 m.p.h. on Wellington Bank in 1904 has been challenged on analysis of the rather scanty evidence. Something over 90 m.p.h. was, perhaps, more probable; but even so the speed at that date was enough to give the locomotive an honoured place among the pioneers.

After one of my visits to the Museum, the first sight as we drove into the country was the blue Coronation approaching York in little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours from King's Cross. Patrick Stirling's prophecy of London-York, 188.2 miles, in three hours was fulfilled almost in his life; and one felt that the increased speed of the fastest train in the Empire nowise discredited the old veterans, but was matter of evolution which their pioneering had permitted.

Apart from the relics at York, some other notable locomotives have been preserved; the L.N.W.R. 2-4-0 'Hardwicke,' which in the Race to Aberdeen covered 141 miles in 128 minutes, at Crewe; a Johnson single-wheeler of the Midland at Derby; and the solitary single of the

Caledonian, No. 123, built in 1886 and employed on some of the West Coast trains in the Race of 1888, at St Rollox.

The 'new departure,' i.e. the introduction of the Atlantic, was a stage in the evolution of *inter alia* locomotive wheel arrangement on the old G.N.R. Stirling's 8-ft. singles (4-2-2), Ivatt's Atlantics (4-4-2), and Gresley's Pacifics (4-6-2) showed a steady development in driving wheels; and the successive locomotive engineers, covering also the first two decades of the L.N.E.R., shared a policy at once consistent and progressive. If the war had not arrested Sir Nigel Gresley's new design of what amounted to a Pacific enlarged into a Mountain or 4-8-2 (a type hitherto not known in Great Britain), the course of development would have shown an unexampled union of innovation and lineal descent. But the example of the 'new departure' preserved at York was but the first of a small preliminary batch, to be followed after three years of trial by the larger Atlantics with the 5 ft. 6 in. boilers, early to be greeted up in Yorkshire as 'the big-bellied beasts,' and thereafter multiplied in such numbers as were evidence of their great efficiency. Indeed it is doubtful if any locomotives of comparable size could match their record in hauling loads far heavier than were contemplated at the time of their construction.* Other Atlantics then began to appear on other lines: on the North Eastern, the Lancashire and Yorkshire (with the unusual use of inside cylinders), and the Great Central; and the London, Brighton, and South Coast brought the Ivatt design (with the 'Brighton' externals) to the coast where, after the first run from London, the pioneer locomotive was stranded until the local turntables had been enlarged.

Of the powers and performances of Ivatt's two-cylinder Atlantics, both in G.N. days and through many years of the L.N.E.R. a notable example was one which no less an expert than Mr Cecil J. Allen, who recorded the run, described as the 'immortal feat' of No. 4404, only about a dozen years ago. On the breakdown of a Pacific at Grantham, this Atlantic, happening to be in the yard, was called upon to take the mid-day Scottish express of

* Since the above was written it is good news that the first of these large Atlantics, No. 251, which astonished the railway world in 1901, is in process of restoration to its original style and colours of the G.N.R. for inclusion in York Museum in 1948.

17 coaches, or 585 tons, on the run of 83 miles to York, the scheduled time being 90 minutes. With considerably smaller dimensions and adhesion weight than the Pacific, there was a tough tussle to get started, and the first four miles took eight minutes; but the locomotive soon developed 74 m.p.h., and then took this heavy train through the 83 miles in 87 minutes, incidentally covering the 66 miles from Newark to Chaloner's Whin Junction south of York in 66 minutes, and taking the stretch of 17 miles from Retford to Doncaster in 15 minutes. The driver was a Gateshead man of the old N.E. who might have been excused if he were unused to G.N. locomotives; but when Mr Allen went to applaud his fine run, the driver gave the credit to the locomotive (and incidentally to its designer), saying, 'Grand engines these!' The engine remained on the train for the next 44 miles to Darlington, piloted by a two-cylinder Atlantic of the N.E.—two veterans of thirty years old.

A noticeable change in British locomotive design over the years seems to have been the decline of the Compound, which has had a greater vogue on the Continent and in the U.S.A. The Webb Compounds of the L.N.W.R. in the later part of the nineteenth century were famous in their day, although an opinion emanating from that Division of the L.M.S.R. has been to the effect that these locomotives were over-rated; and the Deeley Compounds (4-4-0) of the Midland continued to flourish with some variations through many years of L.M.S. small-engine policy with the nickname of the 'Crimson Ramblers.' This policy had been inherited from the Midland at a time when the tendency elsewhere was to find efficiency in enlargement. But while these compounds could hardly have competed with the best four-coupled bogies in the country, the 'Schools' class of the Southern, they certainly were very efficient haulers of limited loads. The unusual design of one high-pressure and two low-pressure cylinders was in fact not peculiar to the late Mr Deeley, in spite of some modifications of his own; for they were really Smith Compounds, adopted also by Mr Robinson of the G.C.R. in a few of his Atlantics. The norm and standard in express locomotives of to-day are found in the use of three or four high-pressure cylinders, as in the G.W.R. Kings and Castles, in the Pacifics of the L.N.E.R., and of the L.M.S.R. on its

Western Division, and in the later 4-6-0's and the Merchant Navy Pacifics of the Southern.

To turn from locomotives to coaches, the great increase in the provision of restaurant cars in this century takes the mind back to their introduction. Here the Midland was first in the field with American Pullman cars in 1874; but these were without kitchens, and provided meals only by special arrangement. The first dining car proper appeared on the Leeds service of the G.N.R. in 1879. The L.N.W.R. and the Midland soon followed, and the practice spread through the years, although for some time the dining car was a self-contained unit in the train, and whole trains of bogie vehicles and corridors were slow in making their appearance on a general scale. In this departure the G.W.R. was a pioneer in the early 'eighties when the old broad gauge had a ten years' lease of life before its conversion to the standard but fortuitously chosen track of 4ft. 8½in.

The L.N.W.R. and the G.N.R. were slow to adopt the bogie; and the six-wheel coaches unearthed in 1938 in reproduction of the 'Flying Scotsman' of 1888 were all too realistic of the days when that train made a long enough stop at York to enable the hungry traveller to snatch a hurried luncheon in the station dining-room. There, the story goes, the *table d'hôte* luncheon was begun with soup so hot that when it was cool enough to be consumable, it was time for the adventurer to run to recover his seat in the train, leaving most of his meal untasted. The 'Flying Dutchman' made a similar stop at Swindon, and promoted the piece of advice sometimes employed to repress a chatterbox: 'Save your breath to cool your soup at Swindon!'

Here I was about to conclude these earlier recollections, but at this juncture the Editor of the 'Quarterly' is so good as to herald Christmas with an early copy of Mr Hamilton Ellis's volume, 'The Trains We Loved,' published by Messrs Allen and Unwin; a most readable book of 175 pages with Appendices and Index, in a pleasant large type. There are eight illustrations in colour and over sixty photographs of locomotives and trains of the past up to 1914, a remarkable achievement at the price of fifteen shillings. The author is candid in criticism and gives credit where it is due, although he makes no

concealment of his favourites. If I have shown a partiality for the old G.N.R., he is not far from confessing infatuation by the old Midland, although there is a hint that his affection has not been extended in the same unstinted measure to the Midland Division of the L.M.S.R. We should concede to him the quality of the Midland coaching stock which was not confined to expresses, but favoured even slow trains on branch lines ; and no doubt he has a good case when he sees the ideal combination in the L.N.W.R. track and the Midland coaches. But when he pays tribute to the G.N.R. in terms of the greatness of Stirling and Ivatt locomotives, the magnificence of the Scottish expresses and the Leeds diners, and the 'imposing' appearance of 'the pre-1914 Flying Scotsman, made up of stately twelve-wheelers entirely clerestoried and very ornate as to dining-car interiors,' one feels that he is saying the best he can to set against its suburban traffic, of which the Midland never had much, and generally against the defects of the line of which another railway writer opened his appreciation : 'Good wine needs no bush, and it is waste of time to praise this line.' But of course I am writing somewhat *ad hoc*, with no pretence of the full review which Mr Ellis's book deserves.

II. AFTER THE RAILWAYS ACT, 1921

After the First World War the condition of the railways, which an American editor described to me as their 'plight,' presented a formidable task in rehabilitation ; and the Railways Act, 1921, came to the rescue with new provisions for the future. Finance was a prime factor ; and some 60l. million were voted in satisfaction of the railways' claims on the ground of war-time loss and arrears of repair and maintenance. In 1922 the old companies were released from control and reverted to the condition of pre-war independence. For a year and a half the old names lingered, and, with one exception, sang their swan song. When, on Jan. 1, 1923, the new groups assumed the new names, the Great Western alone retained its name unchanged, and, as a complete company, its colours ; for we recall many changes. It was well enough for the Great Northern to give its light green and varnished teak to the L.N.E.R. ; but it was a depressing day when the

North Western exchanged its black and white for the Midland red, which also displaced the Caledonian blue ; and the L.S.W. terra-cotta and the Brighton yellow disappeared in the subdued green of the Southern. Of course the old companies might have made a good stand against the post-war 'plight,' but would probably have exemplified the 'survival of the fittest' to the detriment of the public service where the unfit failed.

Even so, the promoters of the new grouping showed a somewhat facile optimism ; for they assumed a railway revenue sufficient to put the railways on a 5 per cent. basis. The re-allocation of the railway capital of 1,273½ million among the old stockholders was by issue of new stock assumed to yield 5 per cent., in amounts determined by the market price of 100% of old stock ; but it proved in some examples to be a doubtful bargain. In the case of the L.N.E.R., as already hinted (see p. 230), the incorporation of the Great Central, with its mass of dividendless capital in spite of the blandishments of Sir Edward Watkin who had prophesied 6 per cent. on the Ordinary Stock, must be regarded as chiefly responsible for the miserable prices of 'Berwick' preferred and deferred Ordinary Stock up to the time of their approaching exchange into the new Transport Stock. At the same time some of the stocks at their depressed prices have been yielding very good interest from moderate dividends ; but, even so, the uncertainties of the future, the demands of labour, and the Damocles' Sword of nationalisation have deterred otherwise possible buyers from raising prices. Moreover, the revenue available for dividends was limited by the terms of the Railways Act to 5 per cent., a figure which never was reached ; and if the earnings had been in excess of 5 per cent., only a fraction of the excess was employable in dividends, the rest being applicable in reduction of charges to the railways' customers. Such measures of restriction and control might be seen to mark a stage upon the way to nationalisation.

At the same time, and in spite of unpromising finances, the years between the wars produced some great advances in locomotives, coaching, and speed. One must note the Gresley Pacifics, the first of which, named 'Great Northern,' appeared while the G.N.R. still survived ; the Kings (4-6-0) of the G.W.R. ; the Royal Scots (4-6-0) of

the L.M.S.R.; and the Lord Nelsons (4-6-0) of the Southern. Then in the 1930's the streamlined Pacifics, the Mikado's ('Cock o' the North' and others, 2-8-2 but since converted into Pacifics) and the Green Arrows (2-6-2) of the L.N.E.R.; the streamlined Pacifics and the 4-6-0 classes of the L.M.S.R.; and, during the war, the Merchant Navy Pacifics of the Southern, and others of which space forbids a longer list. But improved speeds were rather slow in making their appearance. Even in 1928, when the 'Flying Scotsman' began to run non-stop to Edinburgh with its new Louis XVI dining car, the speed had not been accelerated. In the past the North Eastern had held the first place with its 43 minutes for the 44 miles between Darlington and York; but the Great Western made a fractional improvement upon this with its 'Cheltenham Flier' which in a few years was to be accelerated to 71.4 m.p.h. over the 77.2 miles from Swindon to Paddington. This continued to head the list of British speeds until 1937 when the 'Coronation' of the L.N.E.R. was scheduled over the London-York section of 188.2 miles—more than twice the distance on a much harder road—at 71.9 m.p.h., the whole run to Edinburgh being at 65 m.p.h. In the previous year a trial run on the L.M.S.R., preliminary to the introduction of the 'Coronation Scot,' with Sir William Stanier's Pacific the 'Princess Elizabeth,' covered the 802 miles to Glasgow and back at an average speed of 69 m.p.h.—a combination of distance and speed which was claimed as a record for steam traction. In the meantime in 1935 the 'Silver Jubilee' of the L.N.E.R. on a trial run had covered 43 miles at 100 m.p.h., and in 1938 the Pacific 'Mallard' established a world's record of 125 m.p.h. on a braking trial in the course of several miles at over 120. On the same stretch of line between Grantham and Peterborough I had once thought it a great achievement to register 86 m.p.h. behind an 8-ft. single! But in the 1930's speeds were showing improvement all round and had entered into some competition with the U.S.A. and the Continent, until the Second World War so rudely spoiled our progress. But, all said and done, it was less competition between the railways, but rather, as Mr Hamilton Ellis well emphasised, the resistance of the railways as a whole to the formidable competition of the motors on the road.

Since the war a more rapid recovery than after the previous war gave us some encouragement. The outstanding event was the test of track from King's Cross to Edinburgh and back in May 1946, which, with no aim of record-breaking and after six years of war-time wear and tear, produced a speed of 65 m.p.h. for the 785 miles; a performance on the part of the Pacific 'Silver Fox,' without special overhauling for the occasion, which promised well for recovery. Yet renewed restraint has again delayed the restoration of the tracks and made a speed of 60 m.p.h., or not much more, the maximum for safety. Add to this a curtailed service of trains, frequently in need of refurbishing and even of repair, at such inflated cost of travel that, to take an example, if you are 150 miles from London, a first-class monthly return ticket costs 3*l.* all but one penny, and you realise that, with some exceptions, you pay more and more for less and less. In other ways also recovery continues to be slow; for, whereas the old named expresses, the 'Flying Scotsman,' the 'Flying Dutchman,' and the 'Irish Mail' had produced a large progeny, few of these have survived the war. The G.W.R. has been running the 'Cornish Riviera,' the Southern sports the 'Bournemouth Belle,' and the L.N.E.R. has revived the 'Yorkshire Pullman' and the 'East Anglian'; while in my experience of the 'Hook Continental,' which by the courtesy of the Office of the Chief General Manager, Sir Charles Newton, I have been permitted to use with a ticket to Harwich, although not sailing to the Continent, this maintains the old Great Eastern's reputation for dining-car services. The last addition to the list, in October 1947, is the naming of the early morning express from Sheffield to Marylebone, returning in the evening, with the style the 'Master Cutler.' It is a train of good L.N.E.R. stock, a model in marshalling of coaches and classes, and usually keeps good time, headed by one of the Antelopes (4-6-0) in place of the Green Arrows of frequent practice in past years.

III. THE NEW REGIME

Since the Transport Bill received the Royal Assent on Aug. 6, 1947, and became the Transport Act, due to operate on Jan. 1, 1948, this date of the most revolutionary change

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in British railway history became a sort of *Der Tag*; and at the time of writing the change has formally become *un fait accompli*. Of course this consummation, towards which the more moderate measures of the Railways Act of twenty-seven years ago were a likely step, invites diverse views. Some regard it as the unwelcome child of political prejudice and self-will; others as the indispensable course of recovery from the slough of war and the declining revenue which has followed. The first contend that the companies could have made good, at least if they were not in the grip of mischievous control. The second rather point to the decline in railway fortunes ever since the first decade of the present century and ending in the fall in railway revenue since the recent war. Both parties indeed have to reckon with the effect of two world wars.

Railwayacs of course have an eye on these issues; but they must needs feel regret for the probable further contraction in variety and colour. Already, as we know, the Western Region supplants the Great Western Railway Company, the London Midland Region the L.M.S.R. in England, the Southern Region the Southern Railway, the Scottish Region the L.M.S.R. and the L.N.E.R. in Scotland, and the bisection of the L.N.E.R. in England into the Eastern and N.E. Regions—this is but prosaic administration. But the railwayac foresees the spread of uniformity in type and colour, the extension of electrification, the increasing use of diesel engines, and the ultimate application of atomic power to locomotion, until the steam locomotive, which he loves as an almost human creature, will have become as extinct as the Mastodon. Then he can only trust that York Museum will bear expansion enough to hold a few more relics, Pacifics and others, which have graced the pre-nationalisation era.

But the romantic must face the issue as a realist. Granted that much may be said in detriment of doctrinaire policy, and that nationalisation is not of necessity the sole expedient, it must be admitted that the railways are in their second post-war 'plight,' and that the conditions are, perhaps, less amenable to moderate measures than in 1921. Of course doctrinaire policy sometimes expresses sound economics in given conditions; but if a doctrinaire policy be the expression not of economic principle but of social and class prejudice, it loses any justification which

it might have enjoyed. The craze for nationalisation which the General Election of 1945 brought into political actuality probably represents a confusion between the genuine principles of some and the predatory purposes of a great many others. The issue of State Stock in exchange for Railway Stock might mean no more than the implementation of the principle of public ownership, although this, as I said in the 'Quarterly Review' in July 1946 (art. 'Economic Cycles') gives a serious and increasing preponderance to State securities over all others dealt in on the Stock Exchange, and adds in devious ways to the measure and force of State control; but such issue of stock on terms which deprive the majority of railway stockholders of more than half their income from that source invites the suspicion, and promotes the view, that Socialist policy has been perverted by proletarian prejudice.

In fixing the 'take-over' prices the Government certainly did a profitable deal, which its critics would call predatory; for the prices were arbitrary, not matter of arbitration. They would hold that the Government took advantage of market prices which had long been depressed by those uncertainties which its own policy and action had reduced to certainty; that, in a word, it knocked the stocks down to match the former Chancellor of the Exchequer's low estimate of the railways as 'a poor bag of physical assets,' and bought at the knock-out prices. Then to continue the critics' case, a fine slice of the State's profit from the exchange is likely to go in growing wages of labour; and this raises the question whether that will be a factor in efficiency or whether it implies merely a diversion of funds from the ostensible object of the new system in uneconomic expenditure at the cost of travellers and traders. It is probable that we shall suffer many dreary years while the new regime makes shift with old locomotives, stock, and equipment far beyond their due time of service.* A year ago the L.N.E.R. published an

* Many familiar locomotives, even of the pre-1921 era, will probably survive for years; but some new drab uniformity in livery may be expected just when the late L.N.E.R. has returned from war-time black to Coronation blue and Great Northern green for the appropriate locomotives. The 'Railway Magazine' hazarded pillar-box red; but my only discovery in the first month of the new regime has been a Horwich Mogul of the late L.M.S.R. in black, with 'British Railways' in rather insipid lettering on the tender.

ambitious programme of widened lines, enlarged and improved stations, and sundry amenities such as more hospitable booking offices, and so forth. This desirable enterprise will fall to the new Executive which will do well to give attention to railway refreshment rooms and lavatories ; for if some of the old railways were incapable of keeping their stations clean and orderly, it might seem to be high time for the State to take control ; and we shall see whether or not the new Railway Executive gives attention to these amenities where competition has failed. Unless we are to be like Russia where the people excuse poor quality because the State has no competitor, we shall expect efficiency and economy from the State ; and until the new system has been at work long enough to prove its success or to show its failure, two questions among many invite attention and ultimate answer. One is whether or not a State organisation will be more efficient than the old Companies ; for if not, this vast scheme will have been not merely needless but mischievous. The other is whether the new officialdom, albeit staffed with capable railway 'top men,' will be less expensive than the familiar company management, or whether bureaucratic management, apart from the promised improvements, will cost so much more as to inflate still further both fares and freight charges to the traveller and the trader.

Opinion is, of course, divided, except at the point of very large concurrence that we are to have Civil Service railways, which some will welcome and some will abhor, according to their attitude to the Civil Service. If, as a friend of mine who was Head of one of the Ministries answered one of my strictures, 'Every good bureaucrat detests bureaucracy,' it looks as if the bureaucrats will have entered their new vast empire with no good confidence of expedition. If indeed all the administrators and operatives worked with a true sense of values, such as to promote just and rapid solutions of problems in practice, and with ready attention to duty, no doubt State control would prove to be an ideal system ; but among those who have had experience of the deliberate methods of bureaucratic offices, the answers to the above questions are unhesitating and the predictions unfavourable. In spite of the meritorious examples of the State Railways of the Continent in speed and in the comfort of coaching stock

and stations, the individualistic Briton has his doubts of our own experiment. He prefers to do his business in conditions of personal contact and mutual understanding, and he suspects an 'iron curtain' between himself and every State department, even though in this example it is a public corporation. That might indicate the seclusion of the Transport Commission ; but the Executive, with which, through its Regional Officers, the traveller and the trader will have their contact, promises accessibility and attention.* Further, it is the Executive with which these users of the railways will have their legal relations, which in the past have figured in great measure in actions of tort and breach of contract. Here, at any rate, the anti-bureaucratic mind appears to have a consolation ; he will not find one bureaucrat in the combined offices of legislator, advocate, and judge, but can take a railway case to court with fair prospect of justice even against the State.

J. W. B. WORSLEY.

P.S. (1) Swan songs of late Companies : diesel-electric locomotive of L.M.S.R. built at Derby ; and last Pacific of L.N.E.R., designed by and named after Mr A. H. Peppercorn, now Chief Mechanical Engineer, E. & N.E. Regions.

(2) Addition to named expresses at p. 237 : restoration of pre-war name, the 'Royal Scot,' on Feb. 16 (centenary of introduction of 10 a.m. Euston-Glasgow).

(3) Further to footnote at p. 239 : proposed colours since published. Blue and green for express and other passenger locomotives suggests a legacy from L.N.E.R., although generically green covers also G.W.R. and S.R. ; and chocolate and cream for coaches seems to perpetuate the G.W.R. But the variety in locomotive colours in no wise relieves the geographical uniformity which railwayacs have foreseen.

* At this point an early, because current, example of these qualities may well be cited. The year of the operation of the Transport Act is that of the centenary of the death of George Stephenson, who played so large a part in the early advance of British Railways. The place of his burial in 1848 was Chesterfield (see p. 229) where he lived for some years when concerned in the construction of the Derby-Leeds line, known as the North Midland, and in the foundation of the Clay Cross Coal Company a few miles distant. The town has a project of celebrating this centenary next August with *inter alia* a parade of show trains ; and it is pleasant to record that the new Railway Executive, Eastern and London Midland Regions, has formed a sub-committee to consider and assist this project.

Art. 8.—THE TESTING OF 'THE TIMES.'

The History of 'The Times'—The Twentieth Century Test, 1884–1912. Written, printed, and published at the office of 'The Times,' Printing House Square.

THE long expected third volume of 'The History of "The Times"' has now been published, with the sub-title of 'The Twentieth Century Test,' carrying on the story of the two former volumes, appropriately sub-titled "'The Thunderer" in the Making, 1785 to 1841' and 'The Tradition Established, 1841 to 1884.' The new volume covers the years 1884 to 1912, that is during the editorship of George Earle Buckle and the last years of the Walter family's sole Chief Proprietorship.

The editorship of 'The Times' being the great position that it undoubtedly is, one would naturally imagine that Buckle would fill the front of the stage, supported by the Walters, in any history of the newspaper during the period. That is far from being the case in this book. Except in the negotiations with Lord Northcliffe (which being financial really hardly came into the editorial province) Buckle is little more than a shadowy figure in the background and the Walters, too, have but little prominence. This is a serious defect in the book as it fails to give due credit to men of outstanding character and ability. The front of the stage till the coming of Northcliffe is filled by the solid figure of Charles Frederick Moberly Bell who, after being the Correspondent in Egypt, was brought to Printing House Square in 1890 by Arthur Walter as *de jure* Assistant Manager (Walter himself being *ex officio* Manager) but *de facto* Manager. It is often hard to decide whether he was the hero or the villain of the piece. His devotion to 'The Times' was beyond dispute and his labours to keep it off the rocks financially were unceasing, and for some years not unsuccessful, though the means used were, in the eyes of old friends of 'The Times,' often unsuitable and undignified. But he was autocratic and dominant, with a mind largely closed to really necessary changes and with a marked secretiveness in negotiation. Northcliffe wrote of him to Buckle: 'Bell is one of the most difficult characters with which to deal. He is perfectly straight, yet most elusive; most

amiable and gentle and on the other hand inordinately vain and obstinate; most industrious yet doing little work and above all things tactless. He has the faculty of placing others in most difficult positions.' It was Bell who appointed the foreign correspondents and the heads of the departments at home. It was Bell and not Buckle apparently who wrote to these correspondents, vetted their reports, and sometimes tried to direct their actions, and it was Bell who removed them when he thought desirable.

After the strange and not altogether happy prominence of Bell in this book, perhaps the most remarkable feature in it is that though 'The Times' was admittedly 'an imperial and foreign record, a political and social instrument, a medium of discussion, a moderator of opinion and to some extent an intelligencer of domestic news,' the reader will look almost in vain for any record of affairs at home, except the Parnell case, the negotiations for the sale of 'The Times' in 1907 and 1908, and the growing influence and interference of Northcliffe after he became the chief owner.

Yet the years covered include the Home Rule debates, the end of Gladstone, the death of Queen Victoria, the tariff reform controversy, the accession to power of the Liberals, the budget fight, the Parliament Act, and the death of King Edward. All these were important events, yet of what 'The Times' said or what line it took we are told practically nothing. That means stripping the history of much interest. In Imperial and foreign affairs the case is very different, and we are given a very full and well documented and interesting record.

Whatever the troubles might be in Printing House Square there was no doubt about the maintenance of the paper's prestige abroad and it remained a very real power in Europe and beyond. That was chiefly due to the truly remarkable staff of correspondents abroad and directors in charge of the overseas departments at home. Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Valentine Chirol, William Lavino, George Saunders, G. E. Morrison, H. S. de Blowitz, D. D. Braham, Wickham Steed, Flora Shaw (afterwards Lady Lugard), James David Bouchier, Charles à Court Repington, James Richard Thursfield and others.

Truly 'The Times' could almost be considered as a

second Foreign Office working parallel to the one in Whitehall and not seldom better informed of what was going on abroad. 'The Times' Correspondents often carried in foreign capitals a power and influence which ambassadors may well have envied, and sometimes were the subjects of hostility which any ambassador would wish to avoid.

The mainspring of the paper's policy was the maintenance of the Empire and of its mission in the world—a policy embodied in men like Cecil Rhodes.

Such was the tradition built up in past years by the Walters, by Barnes, and by Delane, and under old circumstances the former means of carrying out the tradition was considered sufficient, but the whole character of journalism was under evolution and the times were changing even if 'The Times' was not. The out-of-date business methods would have meant decreasing prosperity and an ever smaller circulation in any case, but the trouble was immensely exaggerated by the enormous sum of over 200,000*l.* which the paper had to pay for the Parnell Commission. Money had to be found somehow to carry on. The paper could not go on living on a tradition established during a century of almost unbroken success which was now to be subjected to new stresses and new trials in a testing time of unexampled severity.

In what then seemed a fortunate moment Bell became associated with the American Horace Everett Hooper, with his transatlantic ideas of boosting encyclopædias, atlases, and similar publications under the august name of 'The Times.' Hooper and his partner Jackson would also be ready, as it turned out, to relieve Bell of the anxieties of modern advertising enterprise, of which he knew but little, and why should such enterprise not extend to ordinary books (and not only stately encyclopædias) and teach the quite out-of-date British publishers and booksellers how they should run their businesses and give better books at lower prices! Hence the genesis of that then highly controversial but now much respected and useful institution 'The Times' Book Club—hence also the Book War of which but little is said in this volume, but which in fact had no little influence on the fortunes of 'The Times.'

The Book War led to the unfortunate irruption of

Bell into the correspondence columns of the paper (on a day when Buckle was away) with a letter written in the office and libellously decorated by Hooper. The inevitable result was the action brought by my firm and the very decided verdict against 'The Times' in the law courts, though but for the obstinacy of Bell the case could have been settled outside—obstinacy which he lived to regret. The whole episode made a wretched but luckily temporary interlude in the long friendship between my family and firm and the Walters and 'The Times' and is best forgotten. The History does not refer to the case and I mention it only as an example of Bell's mistaken policy which brought real harm to 'The Times,' and he would hardly have liked to hear what Lord Northcliffe said about him and the Book War and the lawsuit in a long and very interesting talk which my father and I had with him (N.) at his request early in 1908—thus incidentally disclosing to two outside the charmed circle, who alone were supposed to know, who 'X' the purchaser was, and I do not think that the authors of this history can have realised that any such disclosure had been made.

In addition to the handicaps of lack of capital, diminished income, lessened prestige at home, increased competition, book wars, and lawsuits, Printing House Square was distracted by actions brought against the Chief Proprietor by the small proprietors who thought that they were getting too little and he too much.

The inevitable came at last and 'The Times' was for sale, and the account given of Walter's negotiations with Arthur Pearson, which so nearly came off, make very interesting reading. Still more so are the negotiations which Bell started with Northcliffe behind Walter's back. They did succeed in the end—with the supposedly unknown 'X' as chief owner and Bell the sole channel of communication between him and the staff at Printing House Square. Bell was under the extraordinary delusion that he could control the tiger whom he had introduced and that things would go on as before; he never even disclosed to his colleagues the written promise of complete obedience to Northcliffe which he had been compelled to sign and which he vainly hoped would never become operative.

The present volume ends with 1912. By then Arthur Walter was dead, rigidly conscientious and true to the

last to the traditions in which he had been brought up; aloof and out of sympathy with modern journalism.

By 1912 his son, John Walter IV, was making great efforts, finally successful, to dissipate that aloof atmosphere and bring himself into the position of active work for the paper. By 1912 Buckle had left the editorial chair, but not to enjoy leisure and ease, for he was only beginning his equally distinguished twenty-year literary career as author of the later volumes of 'The Life of Lord Beaconsfield' and editor of the later volumes of 'The Letters of Queen Victoria.' By 1912 Moberly Bell was dead and the management was in the hands of a friend and nominee of Northcliffe. By 1912 Geoffrey Dawson was firmly in the editorial chair, facing with sturdy determination a future under the Northcliffe regime which might bring him much distinction and influence but at times no bed of roses. By 1912 Northcliffe was far from being the anonymous 'X.' He was installed in Printing House Square and from his room came a steady stream of comment, criticism (often pungent and acid), admonition, and rebuke as well as of praise and encouragement. He was the Lord of 'The Times' and there was to be no mistake about it. 'The Times' was to be made to pay—and it was so. 'The Times' must be brought up to date—and it was so. Finally, 'The Times' must keep its world-wide influence and prestige—and it did, whether because of or in spite of Northcliffe readers can judge for themselves. He felt that 'the "Old Gang" had edited and published a diplomatic gazette, a university register, a Court Circular, but "The Times" had not been a newspaper since Barnes and Delane. . . . They had never understood that the securing and presentation of news was the proper business of a newspaper.' At any rate by 1912 he was in full and open control, and we might add that the rest of the acts of Northcliffe and all that he did, are they not written in the books of the chronicles of Printing House Square, to be disclosed doubtless in the fourth and final volume of this history when it shall appear.

Elliptical though the present volume may be, with large fields of national affairs left almost entirely untilled, it will nevertheless be invaluable for historians of the future in the subjects with which it does deal, such as relations with European countries, the Balkans, the

Jameson Raid, the growth of German power, and the Anglo-French Entente. In its distrust of German aims, methods, and characteristics 'The Times' never wavered, and indeed its Correspondents showed no little prescience and in consequence were not seldom fiercely unpopular with the authorities in Berlin from Kaiser William downwards. His personal attacks on the paper proved what he felt to be its power and influence. The old 'Thunderer' may not have thundered as loudly as in its youthful days but it do so just as effectively. Its unique position as a national institution may be neatly summed up in some words credited to Mr Asquith when Prime Minister and quoted in a book lately published, 'Bring in the representative of "The Times" and let the reporters wait.'

JOHN MURRAY.

Art. 9.—THE PRE-RAPHAELITES AS RELIGIOUS PAINTERS.*

THERE has been almost no great religious art since the seventeenth century: the frivolity of the aristocrats or, where they were serious, their pre-occupation with their outdoor pursuits and the development of their estates, and the sceptical rationalism of the intellectuals, failed to provide in the eighteenth century either the inspiration necessary for the creation of a sincere religious art or a body of appreciation to sustain it, whilst, in the nineteenth, the materialistic outlook and scientific temper were not conducive to the production of a truly great pictorial art.

Yet, in the latter century, there was a renewed interest in religious art, manifested in the production of a considerable body of religious painting and, in the sister art of architecture, in the Gothic revival. The nineteenth century was in some measure an age of faith. The very materialism of which we have spoken provoked a reaction against itself, for it was evident to men of vision and understanding that even then man was in danger of being enslaved by the machine and that if he was to preserve the unique value of his personality he must not neglect the qualities of spiritual sensibility and moral judgment which were his peculiar possessions. The evangelicism and humanitarianism which followed the Wesleyan revival, were expressions of this faith and led to the growing power of the dissenting Churches and the strong moral influence of the 'Nonconformist Conscience.'

The romantic movement, too, reminded men of that time when, in the Middle Ages, a large part of Western Europe had been united by a commonly held faith, and there was a revival in institutional religion in the Oxford Movement of Keble, Pusey, and Newman. Moral earnestness and seriousness of purpose were characteristics of this new age of faith, and as there was at the same time the realisation in some minds that man's heritage of beauty, in his natural environment and in the creations of his own hands, was being threatened by the despoiling hand of

* This year the Centenary of the Formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood will be celebrated. This article seeks to estimate the contribution they made to religious art.

industrialism, it is not surprising that there should have been a reaction to this in the world of art which resulted in the painting of a large number of religious pictures.

This was not entirely confined to this country. Ary Scheffer and Tissot in France; the Swiss, Boecklin; the Hungarian, Munkacsy; and the 'Nazarenes,' Cornelius and Overbeck, in Germany; all produced idealistic and scriptural pictures, but the majority of the artists who specialised in religious and ethical subjects were British, and of these, if we except the greatest of them all, the mystic visionary William Blake, we shall find that the most notable of them were either members of, or associated with, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

The importance of the Brotherhood in the history of art in Europe, or even in this country, has been the subject of debate. To-day, when we can see the movement in its proper perspective, aware of what happened in France, in the reaction against Classicism and the revolution in the favour of naturalism which culminated in Impressionism and, eventually, in the many diversities of contemporary painting, we are apt to regard the Pre-Raphaelite movement as a mere insular episode, a side-channel into which art in this country was diverted for a time whilst the main stream of tradition flowed on uninterruptedly elsewhere. Yet so dominated by Pre-Raphaelite principles was the art of fifty years ago that a critic then might have been excused for believing that he was dealing with one of the major revolutions in the history of Western European art. For the greater part of the second half of the century the Pre-Raphaelites set the standard for British art in choice of subject, probity of craftsmanship, and sincerity of approach, and only seven years after the formation of the Brotherhood it was possible for Ruskin to write that there was hardly a picture in the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy which was unaffected by their methods. Their idealistic subject matter fired the youthful ambitions of many who to-day are elderly, whilst their extremely realistic naturalism and literary bias established the criteria of excellence by which the older generation to-day judge the art of painting, and they are therefore responsible for the critical attitude which many serious-minded people have towards those modern pictures in which they find instead of the same 'shop finish' and idealism of subject,

an extreme looseness of handling and an irreverence towards, and even distortion of, nature.

But whatever posterity may decide about the merits of the Pre-Raphaelite painters, the fact is undoubted that during the course of a few years they produced a number of religious pictures some of which must be regarded as among the most significant to be painted in this country since the Reformation. Justly to estimate their achievements in this field we must consider the reasons for the formation of the Brotherhood and the aims and ideals of the young artists comprising it.

The leading spirits in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were three young men, students at the Royal Academy Schools: William Holman Hunt, an earnest and sincere young man of twenty-one who, at the age of sixteen, had given up a business career against the wishes of his father and was maintaining himself by painting portraits even whilst he was a student; twenty-year-old Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the son of a Neapolitan political exile and student of Dante, who was a poet as well as a painter and a youth of vivid, romantic imagination; and John Everett Millais, a boy prodigy who was the most gifted craftsman of them all, with a skill of hand and eye which was eventually to take him to the Presidential Chair of the Royal Academy.

The teaching at the Royal Academy Schools was based upon the precepts of Reynolds who, in his Presidential Discourses had advised students to study the great Italians of the sixteenth century. It is also true that Sir Joshua had told them to study nature but this had been forgotten, and by 1848 the academic methods of British painters had become a mannered and artificial imitation of those of Raphael and his followers, an art in which the colour was dull and conventional, partaking of the brown tone which 'Old Masters' acquire in course of time and which was then, mistakenly, regarded as a necessary ingredient of them. Sincerity and naturalness had never been a characteristic of the sixteenth-century Italians whose compositions were essentially formal, the gestures and actions being made to fit a particular recipe for arrangement rather than to represent what would have been likely to happen, and sincerity was equally absent from the work of those who slavishly copied their example in the nineteenth century. In addition to the 'Grand Manner,' there was

current in this country a tradition of anecdotal subject-painting, founded upon that of Wilkie and his seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish models, but which was marked by a triviality of subject and sentimentality of appeal. And, accompanying this degradation of subject and insincerity in treatment, there was a decline in the standards of craftsmanship.

This was thought by the ardent young students of the Royal Academy Schools to be unworthy of the art to which they had dedicated their lives and in which they sought to enshrine their ideals. It was the later work of Raphael which had introduced this artificiality and mannerism into art; they would go back for their inspiration to Italian art before the time of Raphael. In this they had been forestalled by a group of German artists, Catholics, working in Rome earlier in the century, who were nicknamed the 'Nazarenes' on account of the monastic simplicity and austerity of their lives by which they sought not only to emulate the achievements of the earlier Italian painters, in their simplicity, sincerity, and devout naturalness, but to reproduce in their own lives the conditions under which these had been accomplished. The work of the Nazarenes, which was principally mural decoration in fresco, was not well known in this country but it had been seen by two artists in particular, William Dyce and Ford Madox Brown, the latter of whom had told his friends, Hunt, Rossetti, and Millais, about it. The 'Nazarenes' had also been nicknamed the 'Pre-Raphaelites' and when a fellow-student heard Hunt and Millais criticising the work of Raphael, he had taunted them, saying that they must be 'Pre-Raphaelites.' Actually they had never seen a painting done by an Italian artist before Raphael, but when they were looking through a volume of Lasinio's engravings after the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, usually attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli, they realised that in these works there were those qualities of sincerity and truth to nature which they sought in vain in the British painting of their time. They decided they *would* be 'Pre-Raphaelites.' It was Rossetti, whose Italian temperament and family history made it easy for him to think in terms of secret societies, who insisted that they should form a Brotherhood and it was chiefly at his instigation that they invited to join, his brother, William Michael; F. G.

Stephens ; a sculptor, Thomas Woolner ; and an admirer of his sister Christina, James Collinson. They had to have a manifesto too, an avowal of aims, which included the choosing only of the highest themes for their art, the representation of moral and intellectual truth, which they found in literature and history, particularly in the historical literature of the Bible, and the close study of nature in order that these themes might find adequate expression. In order that they might be 'true to nature' they directly observed the facts of nature, following the teaching of Ruskin in 'going to nature in all singleness of heart,' and their technique they based upon the early Flemish practice of painting with minute brush strokes into a white ground whilst it was still wet, a method which enabled them to paint with a wealth of realistic detail and a glowing colour which contrasted sharply with the dull conventionality of the art against which they rebelled, but a method which involved them in the painting of a picture inch by inch, like a miniature on a large scale. Not only was physical truth to nature their aim but ethical integrity also, so they chose to represent the noble types or the sacred personages who appeared in their works, not ordinary models but persons selected from among their friends and relations who, in gesture and expression, seemed to fit the roles they were called upon to play. Rossetti's mother and his sister, the poetess Christina, were painted in his 'The Girlhood of the Mary Virgin,' and Millais' 'Lorenzo and Isabella' and Ford Madox Brown's 'Christ Washing Peter's Feet' each contains a whole gallery of Pre-Raphaelite figures.

It was the blending of a realistic method of presentation with an idealism of subject which was the essence of Pre-Raphaelitism. They were, above all, preachers in paint. They were not, of course, singular in this respect. Hogarth,

' Whose pictur'd morals charm the mind
And through the eye correct the heart.'

had made his name and his living by the painted and engraved moralities in which he had criticised the follies and castigated the vices of his age, and other painters of their own generation were to make their works the vehicles of great moral ideas.

The titles given to their subjects are an indication of the

didactic aim of the Pre-Raphaelites. Consciences were being awakened, sheep were straying, or the last days were being spent in the home which profligacy had lost to a family in whose proud possession it had been for generations. That no part of the moral lesson should be lost they crowded their canvases with carefully drawn accessories which might be æsthetically irrelevant but were never without moral significance. The weeds around the door in Hunt's 'Light of the World,' the title of the song on the piano, 'Oft in the Stilly Night' in his 'The Awakening Conscience,' and the green apples and the Death's Head Moth in his 'The Hireling Shepherd,' are but a few of the details which he introduced into his pictures, not only to add to their verisimilitude but 'to point the moral and adorn the tale.'

Holman Hunt has been instanced because he is the 'type' of Pre-Raphaelite religious painter, who was to remain faithful throughout his long life to the tenets of the Brotherhood. Rossetti, under his guidance was to paint two religious pictures, tender in sentiment and sincere in feeling: 'The Girlhood of the Mary Virgin' and 'Ecce Ancilla Domini,' and one or two water-colours, but he was principally to devote himself to the Dante stories and the romances of the Middle Ages which were his deepest love and which he was to treat with a growing sensuality and morbidity of sentiment. Millais painted his 'Christ in the Carpenter's Shop' when he was twenty and this is his most considerable religious painting, a work which sympathetically portrays the relationship between the boy Jesus and His Mother and conveys, in the monumental immobility of the other figures, a sense of the significance of the event portrayed. He was to illustrate several of the Parables and to paint two of these in oils but, after painting 'The Return of the Dove to the Ark' in 1851, he painted few Scriptural subjects and after his early election to the Associateship of the Royal Academy he was to desert Pre-Raphaelitism for the more lucrative and popular sentimental anecdotal painting of his later years. Hunt was the Puritan of the party and it is upon him that the reputation of the Pre-Raphaelites as religious painters must principally rest. He had resolved early in his career that he would devote himself particularly to this genre, and that he would pay such subjects the reverence which

he believed to be their due by painting them with the utmost accuracy that careful inquiry and research into archæology and the history of costume could give.

Hunt was not a boy prodigy like Millais, it was only at the second attempt that he gained admittance to the Royal Academy Schools, nor, unlike Rossetti's, was his mind teeming with images seeking expression. With Hunt it was 'dogged as does it' and doggedly he strove to make himself a painter, maintaining himself by portraiture whilst a student and, during the real poverty he experienced when the opposition to the Brotherhood was at its height, keeping himself alive by accepting a commission to wash down Rigaud's wall paintings in Trinity Hall. It was entirely characteristic of him that, when he sold his famous 'Light of the World' to Combe, the Oxford printer, for four hundred guineas in 1853, he used the money, not to enable him to have that easier existence to which the struggles of the preceding years would have fully entitled him, but to finance the first of the four expeditions he was to make to the Holy Land in order that the landscape backgrounds and the human and animal models in his paintings should be as nearly authentic as possible. That this involved him in difficulties in no way interfered with his resolve. When painting 'The Scapegoat,' by the desolate shores of the Dead Sea, he had to rest his painting arm upon a rifle, ready-loaded to meet the attacks of robbers which all the time threatened, and he was delayed for a time in his painting of his 'Christ in the Temple with the Doctors' because the Jewish leaders, afraid of proselytism, would not give his Jewish models permission to visit his studio.

'The Light of the World,' probably the most popular religious picture in Protestantism and known to millions in reproduction, illustrates the lengths to which he would go, never sparing himself, in order to be what he regarded as true to nature. To obtain the correct lighting—darkness to suggest the condition of a world in sin, he painted the picture by night in the orchard of the Rectory garden at Ewell in Surrey, building a rough shelter against the weather and keeping his feet wrapped in straw as a protection against the cold, pausing now and again to chafe his fingers, and doing this for several months. In addition to those works already mentioned his religious pictures

include 'The Shadow of Death,' 'The Plains of Esdraelon,' and 'The Triumph of the Innocents,' but even a short list of works would suffice to affirm the tenacity with which Hunt held to his original purpose. His methods of work; the careful, precise painting of detail; even the research into the history of costume and collecting the necessary accessories, made the painting of these pictures a laborious process, and it is significant that many of the painters associated with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood are known by a very limited number of works, in some instances one or two only.

When we consider the lesser Pre-Raphaelites, and their associates, we find that their influence as religious painters was in the measure by which they approached Hunt in moral fervour and zeal.

Burne-Jones, for example, was a disciple of Rossetti rather than of Hunt and he painted more from the Arthurian legend than from the Scriptures, though his 'Star of Bethlehem' is one of his familiar religious paintings. His somewhat anæmic æstheticism was the very antithesis of the muscular Christianity of much of Hunt's work and as a religious artist he will be remembered chiefly for his stained-glass windows at Oxford and Birmingham.

But Ford Madox Brown, though never a member of the Brotherhood, was in some of his works more Pre-Raphaelite than the Pre-Raphaelites. He was an older artist whose style had been formed abroad and it was to him that the young Rossetti had come for instruction when he felt that his technical accomplishment was unequal to the demands which his powerful imagination was to make upon it. Rossetti was soon to desert Brown for Hunt, but this brief pupilage had commenced an association with the Brotherhood which was vitally to affect the older artist's work. Though his work was always informed by a largeness of style, the product of his continental training, which is lacking in Hunt's work, there is in some of his pictures a similar didacticism and love of detail. His 'Christ Washing Peter's Feet' is one of the most notable of religious paintings, admirably conveying the humiliation of Peter and the puzzled wonder of the remaining disciples, whilst his picture 'Work,' though not ostensibly religious, is really a sermon in praise of industry.

Sir Noel Paton, R.S.A., was not a member of the Brotherhood: he had returned to Scotland before it was formed, but he was a lifelong friend of Millais with whom he had been a fellow-student at the Royal Academy Schools, and he adopted some of the Pre-Raphaelite methods in his work which became increasingly religious in character and attained great popularity. William Dyce, R.A., another Scot, was a much older man who was elected a full Academician in the year that the Brotherhood was formed. He was one of the few older artists who encouraged the Pre-Raphaelites, but in this he was only being consistent for as a young man in Rome he had been associated with the Nazarenes, who had admired a painting he had done of the Madonna. Their influence, and that of the great Italians, had been such that he returned to this country with the intention of painting religious pictures, and when he could spare the time from his work for the Government schools of design and the mural painting which principally engaged his activities, he painted a number of religious pictures of a simple and unaffected appeal, albeit a little austere, of which his 'St John leading the Virgin Mary from the Tomb' may be taken as an example. In the 1850's he was to adopt the Pre-Raphaelite manner of painting. He was a man whose religious art was the expression of a life that was devout, he was a leader in the High Church movement and, a skilled musician as well as a painter, he was one of the founders of the Motet Society for the revival of church music.

Thomas Seddon, who accompanied Hunt on his first tour of the Holy Land and painted that minutely detailed landscape, 'Jerusalem and the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the Hill of Evil Counsel,' before dying an early death at Cairo in 1856, and James Smetham, the painter of the 'Naboth's Vineyard,' in the Tate Gallery, and other religious pictures, who was a mystic and poet as well as painter, were other minor Pre-Raphaelites who deserve to be mentioned.

Watts, of course, was not a Pre-Raphaelite, nor do his technical methods resemble theirs—not fifteenth-century Florence but sixteenth-century Venice claimed his homage, but he was one with Holman Hunt in his moral earnestness and his belief that pictures should convey great moral

ideas, though his work was ethical rather than spiritual and there is nothing specifically Christian about it.

We cannot doubt the moral and spiritual influence of the religious pictures produced by Hunt throughout his long life, by Rossetti and Millais during the few years the Brotherhood kept together, and by the minor painters who, under the influence and the inspiration of the movement, painted the individual works which are now regarded as their masterpieces. This influence was strengthened by the advocacy of John Ruskin, to whose ideas many of theirs were akin, by the Pre-Raphaelite poetry which accompanied it and by the Arts and Crafts revival sponsored by William Morris, but it was due principally to the universality of the appeal of the pictures to an age with whose spirit they were so much in harmony.

Though the art whose sincerity and truth the Pre-Raphaelites sought to recapture had been Catholic, it was not the Catholicism of the Jesuits and of the Counter-Reformation, with its morbid sentimentality and religiosity, but that of St Francis and the Mendicant Friars, whose humanism had inspired the springtime of religious painting in the hands of Giotto and his followers, and the Pre-Raphaelites were able to appeal to Protestants who would have found themselves antipathetic to the later art of the Counter-Reformation. Their art, too, reached a public wider than those who worshipped in church or cathedral, through the medium of engravings, by being taken on lecture tours throughout the country, by being widely discussed in sermons, lectures, and debates, and by, eventually, being hung upon the walls of public art galleries. As the great hymns of Christendom, whether written by the medieval monk St Bernard ; the Reformer, Luther ; the Puritan, Bunyan ; or the Methodist, Wesley ; have found their way into all the hymn books, pictures like ' The Light of the World ' have been generally accepted by the Christian peoples of the English-speaking countries so that his picture may be said to have exercised an influence comparable with that of Newman's ' Lead, kindly Light.' Such pictures have so far become a part of our consciousness that we cannot read of Christ as the Light of the World without there appearing before us the wan figure in Hunt's picture, nor think of Christ as a Carpenter without calling to mind the little boy holding up his hand

to the tender solicitude of Mary in Millais' picture. These pictures fixed for several generations our conception of these things in the way that Leonardo's 'Last Supper' defined our image of that event. The Pre-Raphaelites painted for a serious age and the age responded seriously. Their conscious rectitude had had not a little to do with the eminence of the Victorians and it was natural they should respond to pictures in which moral virtue was upheld. And even though the findings of science were leading to agnosticism, the opponents of religion were men who were to be respected for their integrity, theirs was an honest doubt and not a mere lazy indifference, and where they doubted the validity of the mystical they could respond to the ethical, in art as in life, and the religious paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites succeeded where a more pietistic art would have failed.

Yes! There is no doubting the great influence upon their age and the succeeding generation, of the Pre-Raphaelites but was their work great religious painting?

Of any art which goes to religion for its subject matter or which serves as a handmaid to religion, we have to ask how far it does, in fact, express any real religious feeling, how far it not only illustrates but illumines the history of the religion or of its founder, and whether it does succeed in quickening the spirit of man.

A religious art may be intended to appeal to the emotions in ritual, a counterpart to the words, the gestures, and the music; it may provide the symbols necessary to remind the faithful of the central doctrines of their faith, the pictographs to instruct the illiterate, or the graphic illustrations to move to contrition and repentance those who have denied their faith: or it may, in some mysterious way, through its form and colour, enable the spectator to identify himself with his Creator, thus being itself a form of religious experience. In its long connection with religion, art has performed all these functions.

A religious art which is intended to serve and to influence for good a Protestant, not to say puritanical, people like the nineteenth-century British, will not find its function in ritual, nor will it be expected to provide the symbols unnecessary to those who have accustomed themselves to 'touch and handle things unseen,' but it may perform a useful service in illustration and as inspiration.

Many of the religious pictures produced during the nineteenth century did not rise above the level of illustration; they worked within the limits of the spectator's familiar experience, adding nothing, creating nothing. They were as spiritual, no more, no less, as a historical geography of the Holy Land, like which they provided a background of information against which the events described in the Holy Writ might be better understood. They might be indirectly a means to the spiritual, but they were not the direct cause of an enhancement of the spiritual significance of the events depicted.

That religious painting is great in which the artist uses his visual symbols, his line, and form, and colour, not descriptively but to charge material things with a significance not their own and to create for the spectator a new spiritual experience. In the exhibition of Spanish paintings held in the National Gallery early in 1947, there was a series of paintings by Murillo based upon the Parable of the Prodigal Son. To the writer these seemed to be on the level of illustrations, magnificent illustrations it is true, noble in colour and dignified in treatment, but recounting the details of that familiar story without in any way transcending them. The events might have been taking place to any ordinary middle-class family in cavalier Spain. One could not help recalling Rembrandt's treatment of the same theme where the utter misery and the humble contrition of the Prodigal and the limitless compassion of the father are so fully expressed that we feel this to be no ordinary event but one which has a universal significance. Or, in that same Spanish Exhibition, one turned to El Greco's 'Agony in the Garden,' where the artist's conception and handling of the theme took it out of the realm of illustration altogether and produced in the spectator a spiritual state, akin to that of which we are conscious when we go into a great cathedral or when we listen to sublime music and, equally with these, independent of any representational or illustrative content.

Not the artist's choice of subject, the zeal with which he pursues his task, his care in the choice of accessories, and his scrupulous avoidance of anachronisms, make a religious painting great, but the quality of the spiritual imagination which shines through the sensuous medium and is made known to us in the artist's handling of light

and shade and colour, and the living qualities of his rhythms, and which reaches our minds through our emotions and not through our knowledge of history or geography.

The fidelity with which the Pre-Raphaelites copied the facts of nature and their passion for accuracy and historical truth in the accessories of their paintings were against the production of a really great religious art, which should deal with universals rather than with particulars. Their strict regard for truth, and the zeal with which they pursued it, speaks highly of their sincerity, but it led them, inevitably, to emphasise the letter rather than the spirit of the events they were painting, and it is as true in art as in life that it is the letter which killeth but the spirit which giveth life. The spiritual significance of the events described in the Bible is independent of time or place; there was really no need for Holman Hunt to make four journeys to Palestine when Rembrandt could paint some of the world's greatest religious pictures without leaving Amsterdam. The artist who leans too heavily upon the careful reconstruction of the circumstances of an event will find that the spectator's attention is so much engrossed with these that the essential meaning of the work eludes him.

Moreover, it might be held that the spiritual influence of their work was vitiated by its over-emphatic didacticism. An art which sets out to convey a moral lesson may point the moral too obviously and arouse antagonism in the spectator who may feel that his integrity is being assailed. Sermons in paint may require an application but this should be implicit rather than explicit, absorbed unconsciously like the medicine in a well-coated pill. The Pre-Raphaelites did not even leave their pictures, well documented though they were, to speak for themselves, but they wrote pamphlets regarding them and delivered lectures in order that no part of their elaborate symbolism might be missed. They did realise that art is a matter of values, that it may serve the absolutes of goodness, truth, and beauty, and they sought goodness in the lofty idealism of their subjects and truth by 'going to nature in all singleness of heart . . . rejecting nothing,' and they expected that the result would automatically be beautiful. To quote one of Eric Gill's phrases, they forgot that if only you look after beauty, goodness may be left to look after itself, and that truth to nature may mean not only that

close observation and patient study which the geologist or the botanist gives to his science but a higher truth in which nature is not translated in terms of paint but transcended—there is more real truth in a Constable landscape than in the patiently built-up landscapes of a Pre-Raphaelite.

The universal quality of which we have spoken does, indeed, sometimes appear in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites and these posterity will regard as great religious paintings. A recent writer in the 'Burlington Fine Arts Magazine' referred to Hunt's picture of 'The Scapegoat' as 'the greatest English religious painting since the Reformation.' It is notable that though there is in this work a passion for the rendering of detail, as in the hair of the goat, and though in its painting Hunt went to considerable trouble to be correct in his facts, there is not the same pointing of the moral, or the piling up of accessories to enforce the lesson, which is found in so many of his works. To quote the same writer again, 'the desolation of Oosdoom is a desolation of the spirit; the scarlet fillet, bound to the horns of the animal, by the purity of its colour, by the singularity of its relation to the violet mountains, in itself contains the idea of guilt and sacrifice.' There are the essentials of great religious art: the spirit of man is profoundly moved not by literal facts but by the pictorial elements in the work and their formal relations. Despite its exceptional popularity and the influence it has no doubt exerted upon the hearts and minds of men, that is what is lacking in 'The Light of the World.' So dependent is it upon the text from the Revelation which was printed upon the frame, and upon the elaborate symbolism of the weed-choked door, the Crown of Thorns with the promise of the soft leaves budding from it, the lantern and the darkness, that a French critic after inspecting it could note it merely as 'Christ with Lantern.'

CHARLES CARTER.

Art. 10.—THACKERAY.

The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray. Collected and edited by Gordon N. Ray. 4 vols. 1945-46. Oxford University Press.

'THE many-headed beast must know' was Tennyson's comment on a contemporary biography: and Thackeray left behind him the expressed wish that none should be written of him. But great men cannot continue to live to themselves alone, though while alive they share the right to privacy with us undistinguished folk. After their deaths to maintain reticence wears the air of suppression; there must have been, it is thought, something to suppress, and so an unhealthy curiosity is generated.

In the lives of Johnson and Thackeray alike there was nothing for a biographer to hide. But only seven years after Johnson's death, Boswell poured out in a river before the reading world a true and full knowledge of his hero, complete with his 'anfractuosities' of mind, his small *lubies*, his larger faults of temper and manners, and in so doing humanised the art of biography. Knowledge of the life of Thackeray, a figure in his own day as well known to literary London and beyond as was Johnson in his, has in the course of two generations slowly dribbled out, in isolated series of letters, beginning with Mrs Brookfield's in 1887, in Lady (Richmond) Ritchie's introductions to her father's collected works, and in short and unofficial biographical-critical sketches. The letters themselves were widely scattered. Most, as became so great a lover of Americans, have gone into collections in the United States. So high, indeed, is the proportion now in that country, that the four volumes now collected and edited by Mr Gordon Ray are drawn almost entirely from them, leaving a solitary promised fifth volume to complete those still in the libraries and private collections of Thackeray's native land.

Mr Ray's volumes have been the subject of some controversy. Thackeray's hand, and especially his upright hand, is deceptively difficult, and his punctuation, as in most letters, often uncertain or absent. It is clear that the editing is not perfect; the lavish facsimiles sometimes give the emendation wanted. Such emendation rarely adds anything important, it is true. But faith in the

printed transcript, where there is no facsimile, suffers by every error for which there is, and his reader's reasonable faith is every editor's first need.

His second need is, perhaps, that he should rightly imagine his reader's standard of general knowledge, and that in his footnotes he should suppose him to be neither a polymath nor an ignoramus. Mr Ray generally aims his notes pretty well between these extremes. But he sometimes seems to lean to the former side, omitting any note where one would be welcome, and much more often to the latter, providing information which is generally known. But in industry in collecting his material, and in clarity in his accounts of Thackeray's family, friends, and circumstances, he deserves the highest praise.

To make one other criticism : might he not have had these four volumes issued as eight ? He himself confesses that, contemplating his work, he could not but think of Wordsworth's lines :

'I've measured it from side to side ;
'Tis three feet long and two feet wide.'

But Wordsworth said nothing about *avoidrupois*. Most of us now spend so much of our time in household labours, scholars in the scullery, critics in the coal-shed, that our best time for reading is on such journeys as we have to make ; Mr Ray's volumes are a difficulty even to the sitter's knee and to the strap-hanger a flat impossibility.

But if the new knowledge, and still more the newly assembled knowledge, given to the waiting world by this great publication may be less aptly compared to a river than to an avalanche, that is a minor complaint. It ends for ever the intermediate stage of half-knowledge, and in some minds even of faint suspicion, in which Thackeray's memory had lived on since his death in 1863, and we have in his own unstudied words, whether in long familiar letters to his mother or his daughters or to friends, or in the shortest and simplest yet almost always characteristic 'notykins,' the man himself, moody, humorous, and sad—and how often do melancholy and humour keep house together in the same breast !—but one of whose goodness as of his greatness there can never again be, as there never should have been, any doubt at all.

His early wild oats—sown at the gaming table—and

loss of his fortune were not so exactly those of Pendennis as has sometimes been suggested. But, as with Pendennis, they made a man of him ; and his marriage, his wife's insanity, and his responsibility for two surviving children, still further deepened his character. He was nearly forty when 'Vanity Fair' brought him into the front rank ; and behind it lay experiments in painting, in the law, in newspaper proprietorship, and years of hard-working journalism and near-journalism, too much of which is preserved in his works. Once, at the age of thirty, he hit on his true *métier* with 'Barry Lyndon,' which displays some of his best powers and notably his marvellous knowledge of the eighteenth century. (The letters, by the way, do not explain where and how he acquired that knowledge.) But 'Barry Lyndon' was not a success ; the critics missed a good thing, and in just the years of the young Victoria, when English literature was reaching the deepest trough in its history since those of the young Elizabeth.

Different literary forms have at different times served as the chief instruments for disseminating ideas. The play, the sermon, and the essay have had their turns ; by the mid-nineteenth century Scott, Maria Edgeworth, and Jane Austen, coming on the top of the eighteenth-century quartette, had given the novel the unchallenged predominance in which Dickens and Thackeray confirmed it, and which persists to the present day. It was natural that Thackeray's path to fame should be sought through it, and that so soon as the greatness of 'Vanity Fair' had been recognised he should be regarded as a candidate for the throne on which Dickens had established himself, and should out-distance the older chief competitors, Harrison Ainsworth, with his more and more *démodé* imitations of Scott, and Bulwer Lytton.

It was a small world, and the arrival of so striking a new writer attracted attention enough. Ainsworth had been friendly to the young journalist ; he now grew cold. Dickens seems to have alternated between geniality and nervous jealousy. Towards Dickens Thackeray was always generous and appreciative. 'Oh ! brave Dickens !' he exclaimed late in his life, in one of the 'Roundabout Papers' ; and when not writing for publication he is the same. 'One of Dickens's immense superi-

orities over me is the great fecundity of his imagination. He has written ten books, and I am worn out after two.'

To other writers he is equally magnanimous, even to Dickens's led-captain Forster, who had caballed against him, without motive unless it were a mistaken loyalty. In the notorious affair of Edmund Yates and the Garrick Club he for once hit back. He had ample justification for his complaint to the Club's Committee, and so had the Committee for their resulting action. '*Cet animal est très méchant; quand on l'attaque il se défend.*' But Thackeray would have been well advised to treat Yates with contempt. He would have spared himself much annoyance; even though Yates had the sense not to execute his threat and bring the affair into court (having anyhow no case), the prospect of it clearly preyed on Thackeray's mind. In this affair too Dickens betrayed his ill-will to Thackeray by supporting Yates. The breach between the two lasted long, though on Thackeray's side it was passive. It is good to remember the memorial article Dickens wrote on him after his death.

The two writers have always been considered in each other's light, and there is good critical reason for doing so. For they represent the two great contrasted types, always to be found, but here in vivid juxtaposition of time and place, as were Balzac and Flaubert in contemporary France. Dickens, as Thackeray recognised in the words quoted above, is the fertile natural genius, the born writer of sketches, whom fashion unluckily turned into a novelist. But he is uneducated and uncritical; his genius is a tricky spirit, alighting on him for a few delightful pages, and then flying off, leaving behind nothing but the most undelightful of hack journalists, who seems not to have perceived the difference. Still less did, or do, the multitude of Dickensians, to whom any page by Dickens is as good as any other page. Thackeray is the profound reflective mind, feeling deeply and writing slowly, though would that he had often, in his later years, written more slowly. For it cannot be maintained that he had the self-discipline of Flaubert. The demoralising habit of writing, not merely for serial publication, but serially and from hand to mouth, damages nearly all his books after '*Vanity Fair*' and '*Esmond*.' Is he gravelled for matter? Is he in poor health? But the quota for the part must be made up.

His pen rambles on about mothers praying for their sons or social toadies or club gossips. He should have asked a friend, before publication in volume, to go through his text with a blue pencil; but he never did. His artistic conscience in literature, like Scott's, was weaker than his conscience in the art of living.

This is a better-founded accusation than one which is commonly levelled at him in common with Victorian novelists in general—that of prudery and suppressing the seamy side of life, and especially of matrimony. Against Thackeray as Editor of 'Cornhill' this latter accusation holds. He rejected, for what he thought injudicious candour, work by Trollope and also (surprisingly) by Elizabeth Barrett Browning; both protested, Trollope in a very impressive letter. But as novelist, especially in 'Vanity Fair,' Thackeray hints without describing. He does indeed leave it in doubt whether Becky had actually been unfaithful, or was merely on the way to infidelity, having had the price. But the identity of the Commandment imperilled is no way doubtful.

This method of hinting is very ingenious. In the days of candles and oil lamps sitting-rooms were very unevenly lit. As a result someone, generally paterfamilias, read aloud to the family in the evening, as my own father did. There was great advantage in a handling of sexual sin which the adults could understand and the adolescents suppose they understood. Many lesser writers, it is true, simplified the problem by merely avoiding all dangerous situations, and they deserve the condemnation of posterity for holding a false mirror up to nature and emasculating it. The same position was found in France, but revolt came earlier, with the school of realists. There is a pleasant anecdote of a French girl, afterwards known as an 'advanced' novelist, whose father, a retired Colonel, used to read aloud to her and her mother, in what we should call the true Victorian fashion, the roman-feuilleton from the rez-de-chaussée of the local paper. This he did with appropriate bowdlerising for the benefit of his young daughter, demurely listening and, I suppose, working at embroidery or the like; but what he did not know was that she was the author.

Other criticisms touch Thackeray as author and as man. As, notably, that he was a snob. His 'Book of Snobs'

is admittedly a piece of poor journalism ; but may not a man write about, say, monkeys, without being called a monkey ? The tradition is of hardy vitality : only the other day, Sir Osbert Sitwell, in addressing the English Association, spoke of 'Thackeray's footmen-infested pages.' Footmen certainly occur frequently, because they were frequent in the scene. Probably the 'Yellow-plush Papers,' another regrettable bit of journalism, with no bearing on Thackeray's serious writing, is responsible for the legend. Thackeray rarely describes the lives of or gives rounded characters to servants or others in humble situations. Neither does Jane Austen. But when he does it is with a wide humanity. And of genteel poverty, which he had known, he is a master.

Similarly with the accusation, made in his own day and often repeated by the unthinking to-day, that he was a cynic. If a cynic is anything, he is a man who believes that men have no honour and women no chastity, *and does not care*. Thackeray's satire is that of one who cared intensely ; his melancholy is the sadness of a loving heart. An astonishing example of, one would almost say, wilful misunderstanding of him is shown by Abraham Hayward's dictum that Thackeray thought that Swift's inscription 'only a woman's hair' on the paper containing a lock of Stella's indicated heartlessness. He was far from so misinterpreting that tremendous *meiosis*.

No, it is just as true that he was snob and cynic as that he seduced a governess named Jane Eyre. This last fable was actually told of him and fills one with admiration and a sense of how our gossips have fallen from the high standards of their ancestors.

Neither snob nor cynic, he certainly wasted much time at routs and dinners in the houses of mere acquaintances for one who said of himself, and with evident truth, 'How much some people were wrong who fancied I was always hunting after great folks—I took what came to me and cared but for one or two.' But for many years he lived all but alone. 'A man without a woman is a lonely wretch'; and his daughters spent their childhood with their grandmother in Paris, and when they came to Kensington it was long before they were old enough to be their father's evening companions. Naturally he needed society, whether at dinners and receptions or at clubs, of

which last he is the *vates sacer*. He could not always be at the Brookfields'; he was there too often as it was, until it was no longer possible for him to go there at all.

A man who is much entertained as a welcome guest, and who has not only an eager intelligence but a strong animal nature and a hearty appetite—in which he much resembled Johnson—generally eats and drinks, as he talks, rather too largely. Thackeray certainly did; though he seems to have suffered for most of his later years from some digestive weakness, being a notably bad sailor and asking for prayers 'for all travellers by water and sick persons' as he set out for America; he more and more frequently records, as the years go on, what he calls 'convulsions of nature,' ultimately dying in one. But it is difficult not to think that Mr Ray's medical expert goes much too far in suggesting that he dug his grave with his teeth.

But this has little bearing on the Thackeray who matters to us, as he mattered to his own generation. That Thackeray is the man whose vast heart loved much and suffered much. It was all very well for him to say that he cared but for one or two; these letters show that he cared for many, that he had in fact beyond almost any an affectionate nature. When lecturing at Edinburgh he made friends with another writer of warm heart, Dr John Brown, of whom he wrote, 'how much better and greater he is than his books!'—a sentence which gave the present writer the exact expression of his own feelings when, in editing the Journals of Marjory Fleming, he examined with deep disappointment Brown's too-celebrated essay on his great small countrywoman. Brown describes Thackeray's visits: 'we have seen a great deal of him: he comes and sits for hours, and lays that great nature out before us, with its depths and bitternesses, its kindness and desperate truth.' But fortunately not all the time: he used to sing 'Little Billee' to the household.

Wherever he went he made friends, and he kept the friends he made. In America the Baxters' 'Brown House' was, not so much a second home as home pure and simple, the family life which fate had denied to him; nor were the Baxters literary folk. Sally indeed, Beatrix rediviva, was his last love; but he was now old enough to know impossibilities when he saw them, and for Sally he was

guilty of no worse than avuncularity. There is little doubt, too, that she helped to drown the last struggles of his long passion for Jane Octavia Brookfield.

The heart with which he loved his friends had room for strangers. He was frankly, by writing and lecturing, amassing a competence to leave to Annie and Harriet. Like Johnson he would have readily declared that 'no man but a blockhead ever wrote *but* for money.' Yet when at Baltimore his hopes of a golden harvest were disappointed by the competition of the Opera, which visited the city on the same night as had been fixed for his lectures, he did not think only of himself: 'They are 100 in their company: wanting bread many of them, and shall I be angry, because they take a little of the butter off my enormous loaf?'

Though pursued with unintelligible venom by certain American newspapers, he performed there a most valuable service. Some previous English authors who had visited the United States had repaid hospitality by vitriolic accounts of American society. Thackeray's warmth of heart, his modesty, had immense effect in allaying the natural soreness thus created. 'As for writing about this country (he says in 1852) . . . about the friends I have found here and who are helping me to procure independence for my children, if I cut jokes against them may I choke on the instant. If I can say anything to show that my name is really Makepeace and to increase the source of love between the two countries then please God I will.' And so he did, in 'The Virginians,' as well as sporadically and for the rest of his life.

In 'The Virginians' he described how the War of Independence had divided American families. Another war which was to do the same was looming vaguely ahead when he was there. He saw that the Nemesis of slavery was not now. He did not, it is true, see the plantations; what he saw was the pampered and happy slave in the great houses of the South, when, on his second tour, he visited Sally Baxter, now Mrs Hampton, and her father-in-law. 'I have no doubt that, at no period of time, since wool first grew on human skulls, negroes have never been so well off as those now in America. But O it will be a terrible day, when 5 or 6 millions of these blacks will have to perish and give place to the white men wanting

work.' The disasters which followed did not come in quite that way, but Thackeray was right enough in seeing that the great practical evil of slavery is much less in the home than in industry.

He described the effect of his time in America as having been to 'whiggify' him; it is the exact reverse of the effect the same experience has had on some of those who have followed his footsteps—and have followed him also in affection for Americans. And there is no doubt that his second series of lectures—that on the Four Georges, which was written for delivery in America, as the first, on the English Humourists, was not—was, if perhaps only half-consciously, coloured by a desire to be in tune with his audiences' prejudice. Some American critics belaboured him for this very fault. But he was not exactly a Whig, even if he added his voice to the chorus of the contemporary Whig historians of the eighteenth century. 'If a man is a Whig he is something Divine and above you. All the Whigs are.' He was really a sort of Republican Conservative, but with moods of anti-aristocratic exasperation, and without understanding of the philosophy of Conservatism and Crown. But whatever inadequate logic might teach, he loved England. 'Put the case is it in the least impossible? that despotic Europe coalesces and fights against England alone . . . our England perishes, our dear old orderly absurd wise unjust illiberal fanatical free England goes to the deuce.' In fact he did not think clearly, he felt. It is a very good thing that he never succeeded in entering political life.

A man's politics (in the wide sense of the word) and his religion are as a rule recognisably of common origin in his prevailing temper of mind. The well-known epigram, that 'the Church of England is only the Conservative Party on its knees' makes many Churchmen and Conservatives wince. But needlessly, for it is as true as an epigram need be, and in a sense of which its author was certainly unconscious. There is a certain habit of mind, mental, moral, and spiritual at once, which marks the good Churchman and the good Conservative, though not the bad of either class. Nor is it one to be ashamed of, for it includes reverence, a sense of an organic community, and the felt need for a solid intellectual framework. As Thackeray was in his view of Society a man of vast benevolence, so

he was in his religious life profoundly devout. Again and again he speaks, to the young Annie in particular, of his prayers for her and all whom he loved. He had a trembling reverence for his Maker. But of eighteen centuries of Christian thought and tradition he knew almost nothing. His mother was a fine flower of the Clapham School of egocentric Bibliolatry, such as he painted in the early chapters of 'The Newcomes.' When the small Annie and Harriet were in her charge in Paris and their father in London she was for bringing them up in the fundamentalist faith, which drew no moral or spiritual distinctions between the truth or importance of any one Old Testament passage and any other. Thackeray put his foot down firmly in a long series of letters. His mother was naturally grieved, but the old relations were happily restored.

What Thackeray put in the place of fundamentalism was that strange popular fancy called (though not by him) 'Gospel Christianity.' It would have surprised no one more than the Gospel's first readers, being flesh without skeleton, devotion without definite belief. It exists to-day, and in the first half of the nineteenth century was the religion of the average Englishman. 'What,' asked the puzzled Leigh Hunt of Lamb, after one of Coleridge's monologues, 'what makes Coleridge talk like that of *Grace and Holy Church*?' 'Oh,' replied Lamb, obviously turning the subject, 'There's a g-great deal of f-fun in Coleridge.' The great vision of the Church, which Coleridge did so much to spread, was as unknown to Thackeray as to Leigh Hunt. Why, one may ask, did not his parson friends, Brookfield, or the saintly Archdeacon John Allen, teach it to him? Perhaps it was because they hardly knew of it themselves, any more than most of their contemporaries, clerical or lay.

'The Poop of Room that Scarlick Harlock' is not a very serious utterance. But Thackeray's Protestantism often found considered expression in the letters and elsewhere. In the 'Irish Sketch-book' he earned the undying hatred of Roman Catholics and Irishmen alike, who have never taken the trouble to understand him, and who do not remember the fine passages of praise of the race which it contains. For he displayed an inability to sympathise with Catholic devotion, just as with the Irish love

of idleness, which they shared with the Mediterranean races. Coming from dirty, growing, prosperous London, Irish beggary affronted him. So did Italian. 'The earth swarms with myriads of priests and friars who neither toil nor spin, but live on the people and perform fetish.' St Peter's he found 'a huge Heathen parade . . . and the founder of the religion utterly disappear[s] under the enormous pile of fiction and ceremony that has been built round him.' If he was not altogether wrong, and most would refrain from saying that he was, he clearly failed to see behind the parade and the beggary; there was something lacking to his vision. And this though in Father Holt and in at least one of Clive Newcome's letters from Rome he showed a wider, more European, and less insular outlook than almost any of his English contemporaries.

But it is not Thackeray as a consistent thinker whom we seek in these letters; it is the great heart, the sad portrayer of men and (though to a much less degree) of women, and the humourist; it is the brave life of effort for the sake of wife and children. In this abundant record of his most natural utterances, written without thought of public or posterity, we find him as he has never before been presented, in the round. It would be a small mind that did not admire him, a small heart that did not love him, even better than it did before.

ARUNDELL ESDAILE.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

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| Peace or Power. Sir Harold Butler. | Ido what I Like. W. A. Darlington. Haydn. Karl Geiringer. |
| History of the Homeland. Prof. Henry Hamilton. | Year Book of the London Institute of World Affairs. |
| Freedom and Civilisation. Prof. Bronislaw Malinowski. | A True-born Englishman. M. P. Willcocks. |
| The Fall of the Spanish American Empire. Don Salvador de Madariaga. | English Home-Life 1500 to 1800. Christine Hole. |
| Maurice to Temple. Maurice B. Reckitt. | The Unselfish Egoist. Joan Evans. Bolivar. Emil Ludwig. |
| Devil at My Heels. R. W. Thompson. | The First Europe. Dr Cecil Delisle Burns. |
| | France: A Short History. Prof. Albert Guérard. |

SIR HAROLD BUTLER, formerly Director of the I.L.O., writes with great authority and experience, and his latest work 'Peace or Power' (Faber) is certain to arouse wide interest and command deep respect. He gives a brief and lucid survey of the years between the wars and then examines the present situation in the West and in the East and considers the evil consequences of Germany's bid for power, the present position and future aims of Russia, and the effects of America's apparently permanent entrance into European affairs. Some of the chapter titles give a good idea of the contents of the work: 'The Nemesis of Power,' 'East and West,' 'Western Europe in Travail,' 'The German Reckoning,' 'Resurgence of the Slavs,' 'The British Price for Victory,' 'The American Impact,' and 'Peace or Power.'

What is the state of the western countries? Has their morale been so sapped by defeat, occupation, and internal strife as to reduce them to impotence or decline? Are they turning their backs on their old gods of democracy and liberty and prostrating themselves before the red orb of sovietism? Or are they capable of a fresh spell of creative activity? All may be well but an indispensable condition of reconstruction is that 'unless the Allies can agree both on ends and means, the problems are not soluble and the world as a whole has little hope of regaining peace and stability. In the last resort the fate of Germany and of Europe hangs on the wisdom and harmony of the major Powers, and upon the reconstruction of east and west.' 'But in the final analysis peace is not merely a

matter of politics and economics ; it is primarily a matter of the spirit.'

It is easier to recommend than to review a book like 'History of the Homeland,' by Professor Henry Hamilton, D.Litt. (Allen and Unwin), because to deal adequately with 600 large pages packed with information would need considerably more space than is here available. The work is No. 4 of the series of 'Primers for the Age of Plenty,' a title which sounds somewhat ironical when published in a year like 1947. Its aim is to deal with the history of some of the things that matter most to people to-day, not in a dry, strictly chronological manner, but with a view to giving the general background and context of social questions that are so important to-day. It is divided into five parts—Our Needs, Our Work, Human Relations, Other Human Beings, and Our Institutions. These are subdivided into sections dealing among other subjects with the land and the people, dress, health, the rise of capitalism, the triumph of industrialism, commerce, the Labour movement, communications, government, social security, education, and freedom of thought. There are striking, and at times rather grim, chapters on economic imperialism and the employment of native labour. The author seems to us to emphasise too much the entirely material and business side of Empire—he has but little sympathy with the wider visions of men like Cecil Rhodes. His somewhat apparent left-wing views in politics seem to us to mar in places the even balance of a fine piece of work and the references like 'preserves of a mandarin class' are not helpful, nor altogether convincing to-day when we see so many successful leaders who have inherited no 'mandarin' privileges. A book like this should perhaps be more like the work of a judge than of an advocate, but whether the reader agrees with this point of view or not, he must find an immense amount of really valuable information here, useful to any student and lucidly presented and well arranged. This is a notable volume.

The first two chapters of 'Freedom and Civilisation,' by Professor Bronislaw Malinowski (Allen and Unwin), have an air of propaganda and special pleading, because they were written while the Second World War was still in progress. The remaining twenty-four chapters are a brilliant and comprehensive analysis of War, Peace, and

Freedom. Like most serious contemporary thinkers Malinowski was much perturbed by the world-wide prevalence of emotional thinking and the general substitution of words and phrases for thought and action. No word in current use is more abused than 'freedom,' from the false start that it is an absolute to the false end that it is subjective. This very valuable study is one long plea for objective analysis of all our political and economic problems—although the Professor does not tell us how this is to be achieved by a popularly elected Chamber in an ill-educated Democracy. The fundamental paradox is obvious: presumably, we could eliminate 'laziness, treachery, dishonesty, and desertion' from national and international life, but only at the price of eliminating freedom. As long as man is free, he must be free to choose evil. The writer's faith in the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, while touching and valid, has too quickly become somewhat pathetic. Nevertheless, a close study of 'Freedom and Civilisation' is really rewarding and can do nothing but good. It is, however, regrettable that a writer whose whole book is a persuasive plea for objectivity in political thinking should more than once succumb to its baneful opposite. He considers, for example, that the writer who is known as Bertrand Russell is 'unimpeachable,' whereas that gentleman has been guilty of his full share of philosophic palpitation. The Professor makes the threefold slogan freedom, democracy, and 'the pursuit of happiness' the foundation of his thesis. Yet the phrase 'the pursuit of happiness' is an entirely false concept; a delusion; a snare. Pursued, happiness everlastingly escapes: it is not an absolute, or something to be hunted and caught: it is the afterglow of achievement; the by-product of honest effort; the reward of disinterestedness. Professor Malinowski briefly crystalises the basic, controlling truth when he says: 'in our democratic unpreparedness we have failed to mobilise spiritually.'

Don Salvador de Madariaga has lost no time in completing his notable account of 'The Rise of the Spanish American Empire' with a second volume entitled 'The Fall of the Spanish American Empire' (Hollis and Carter). No one else writing on Spain in English could move amongst the complex and crowded history of Spain in the New World with such consummate ease and persuasive

eloquence. In spite of a stern determination to be objective at all costs, allowance must be made for the right and natural bias of a man writing about his own country. Nevertheless the claim that Spain did great and lasting things in South America is amply justified. Whether the brave new world she set up there would have become braver and greater had it retained close ties with the Motherland instead of breaking off into antagonistic and largely ineffective splinters is a fascinating speculation. Don Salvador's brilliant study is opportune; his many readers will inevitably compare what has happened in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa with what has happened in South America, and is now happening in India. On page 374 there is an eloquent tribute to eighteenth-century England which one hopes is fully justified. Like its predecessor this volume is excellently produced. The endpaper maps are illuminating, the twenty-five illustrations delightful, the twenty closely printed pages of Notes exhaustive. Fortunately we can rely on the author to have given us in his text the cream of the alarmingly complete Bibliography. All this and an adequate if by no means faultless index combine to make a work of lasting importance.

In 'Maurice to Temple' (Faber) Mr Maurice B. Reckitt has put into book form his important and arresting Scott Holland Lectures of 1946. He tells the story of the century of social movement in the Church of England beginning with the meeting of J. M. F. Ludlow with F. D. Maurice ('the only man in the Church of England at that time capable of supplying not only a personal inspiration but a theological foundation for the movement') in 1846 and the subsequent struggle to socialise Christianity and Christianise socialism, with the great names associated with that struggle—not only Maurice and Ludlow but Kingsley, Hancock, Headlam, Shuttleworth, Westcott, Scott Holland, Gore, Ward, Marson, Conrad Noel, and George Lansbury. We are told of the early Guild of St Matthew, the Christian Social Union, the Church Socialist League, and the Industrial Christian Fellowship and of their work, of the 1880's of which Bernard Shaw could write bitterly 'religion was alive again, coming back upon men, even clergymen, with such power that not the Church of England itself could keep it out.' Slowly but surely came the realisation of the

'concern of the Nation's Church at once for the spiritual and the social condition of the masses'—a realisation which by God's grace has grown stronger and stronger and more and more urgent. Mr Reckitt pays very high tribute to Archbishop Temple, whose incursions into material matters were, perhaps not without some reason, not entirely favoured by many whose devotion to the cause was no less great than his own. A very right and proper tribute is paid also to Basil Jellicoe, whose splendid and all too short life gave a noble impetus to housing and the making of decent conditions of life, in which the spirit can rightly develop. All readers may not agree entirely with all Mr Reckitt's views but all may be grateful for an inspiring, thought-provoking, and most useful book.

We are told that Mr R. W. Thompson's '*Devil at My Heels*' (Macdonald) is a book about Europe and the hopes and fears of its common people. He is widely experienced traveller, journalist, and war correspondent, and the devil at his heels is always spurring him on to visit new countries. In this book he takes us to Brussels, Paris, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Prague, Vienna, Bratislava, Zagreb, Belgrade, Skoplje, Sofia, Bourgas, and Varna. There are interesting descriptions of the renewal of almost normal life in Belgium and even in Czechoslovakia, of the devastation at Nuremberg and in Austria, but the chief value of the book lies in what the author has to say of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, of the real friendliness of the country people and peasants in both countries and of the hostility of officialdom in the towns. There are grim accounts of how the Soviet-promoted secret political police rivetted their baleful hold on Yugoslavia and were doing so on Bulgaria at the time of the author's visit in 1946—and we know how complete that imposed slavery has become since, for tyranny has become law and law tyranny. The author's visit to the Balkans has proved to him that Communism is not just an unpleasant philosophy, it is 'a threat to mankind, a kind of terrible fungus threatening—and indeed determined—to engulf the whole world.' Incidentally the author has some hard remarks on the behaviour of the American troops in many places, 'uncouth hordes of young barbarians, drunken, roistering, corrupting, as alien in behaviour to Western Europe as were the hordes of Genghis Khan.' These who have learned to like and

appreciate the American troops, formerly in this country, will read this criticism with sorrow.

Mr W. A. Darlington in his 'I Do what I Like' (Macdonald) tells of his experiences as scholar, author, dramatic critic, playwright, cricketer, and golfer. He has led a full and interesting life but throughout it the theatre has been his chief love. For many years he has been dramatic critic of the 'Daily Telegraph' and he is also the author of the highly successful play and book 'Alf's Button.' He is old enough to have known the stage celebrities of the Edwardian era and even some surviving from the preceding Victorian era. In those days actors were much more a social class by themselves, popularly supposed to be easily recognised by long hair, a fur collar (often moth-eaten), and a highly artificial manner, even off the stage. They were not usually drawn from public school and university circles (with of course notable exceptions like Cyril Maude and Sir Aubrey Smith), nor were they specially addicted to the sporting world. One can imagine Irving in flannels or tweeds on the cricket field or golf course as little as W. G. Grace as a star of the Lyceum stage! Yet these elder actors were often masters of their profession and Mr Darlington is very uncertain whether their more natural, cricketing, golfing, just-like-other men successors at present have really made progress in stage-craft. Mr Darlington has very interesting reflections to make on actors and critics—the old hostility (always maintained by some actors like Gerald Du Maurier) now generally mellowing into appreciation and good fellowship. There is much good reading in this book but its special appeal will be to those interested in the stage. It badly needs an index.

Although known to the ordinary music lover better than most of the great composers because of 'The Creation' and 'The Seasons' Haydn has had no biography in English since Haddon's study in 1902. A new Life—'Haydn' by Karl Geiringer (Allen and Unwin)—is therefore very welcome. An accepted authority on the composer, as Curator of the Archives of the Friends of Music in Vienna, Dr Geiringer has opportunity, learning, and great industry; charm and literary distinction are, however, lacking. His volume is divided into Part I: Life; Part II: Works. Obviously convenient, this method deprives the author of

the possibility of achieving that synthesis between the man and his work which is the true aim of creative biography. The son of a very poor wheelwright in Lower Austria, Haydn's humble beginnings, self-education, diffidence, long struggle and, in old age, eventual mastery of his art, and his warm humanity, provide in combination all the material for that great biography which is still unwritten. Dr Geiringer rightly dismisses Sir Henry Hadow's contention that Haydn was a typical Croatian composer; he was as South German as his friend and demi-god Mozart. Haydn achieved an easy and startling success in England because he was in the powerful tradition of Purcell and Handel, and because of his Protestant tinge. Remarkably versatile, Haydn was free of all musical snobbery. He arranged dozens of Scottish and Welsh songs and composed many tiny pieces for those popular contraptions known as musical clocks. His professional career was enormously successful. It is to our credit that Oxford gratified him with a Doctorate of Music denied to him by his native Vienna. Susceptible to feminine charms, his domestic life was unhappy and, in spite of some temporary alleviations, always lonely. His love of England and the English inspired his London symphonies and, amongst us, he received his greatest understanding and support. Ignorant prejudice decries the reigns of the Four Georges but a recent exhibition of pictures showed what Art in this country owes to Royal patronage. George III as Prince and King was a generous patron of Haydn as were all the members of the Royal Family.

One gathers that The London Institute of World Affairs, the 'Year Book' of which for 1947 (Stevens and Sons) contains thirteen articles of varying merit, is not yet quite in a position to live up to its very imposing title. The first article 'Permanent Features of Soviet Foreign Policy' by Dr W. Gurian is but a useful summary of well-known and generally accepted facts; Dr R. Schlesinger's 'Western and Soviet Democracy' is too subjective and biased to have much value or importance; Mr A. G. Bettany's 'Czechoslovakia Between East and West' is unbiassed, and a sound piece of good journalism; Dr Graham H. Stuart's 'The Problem of Tangier' is also useful; the Rev. C. S. Milford's 'Communal Problem in India' is largely out of date; there are competent articles

on Eastern Asia and on International Law, one by the Principal of the London Institute of World Affairs, the other by its Director of Studies. Professor Fisher of the Royal Institute of International Affairs writes informedly on 'The Future of International Economic Institutions,' but throws no light upon the relationship between the Royal Institute and the London Institute. If Institutes, Committees, and self-appointed Authorities, national and international, can put the World to rights, then we are well on the way to complete recovery! Possibly the concluding section, giving a list of eleven Reports on the Sociological aspects of World Affairs, and a summary of their contents, is the most useful article in the 'Year Book.' The irony that waits on all such compilations is illustrated by a sentence in Professor Stuart's article on Tangier in which he says: 'The U.S.S.R. seemed to have but one definite policy but this was a veritable *idée fixe*; the delegates from Moscow were determined to keep Franco Spain from any participation in the administration of Tangier.' Now, before the Year Book is in general circulation, the U.S.S.R. 'delegates,' secretly resident in all countries, have been ordered at all costs to bolster up Franco's rickety throne in order to keep Spain, a Western European Power, outside the Western Group, and Great Britain, on this issue, supports the U.S.S.R.!

'A True-Born Englishman,' by M. P. Willcocks (Allen and Unwin), is a biography of Henry Fielding, a man of many parts, characteristic of his age. The young scholar, the rake, the spendthrift, the hard-working playwright, the novelist, the barrister, the Metropolitan Magistrate, the creator of the first official detective force, the loving husband and father, the very true friend and the creator of Parson Adams, Sophia Western, and Squire Allworthy, all contribute their parts to the portrait of this true-born Englishman. In his lifetime he had to meet sorrow, poverty, loss of friends, defamation, scurrilous abuse, and much ill health. Many of his troubles he brought on himself. 'No man ever hated the cold heart and the empty head more than did Henry Fielding; no man fought more vigorously against hypocrisy, lies, and sham.' He was a merciless satirist, often of those in high places, which does not bring comfort in worldly affairs, but, in spite of the excesses of his earlier years, he may be re-

membered, as Austin Dobson points out, as 'the energetic magistrate, the tender husband and father, the kindly host of poorer friends, the practical philanthropist, the patient and magnanimous hero of "The Voyage to Lisbon."' Mr Willcocks makes very high claims for him—higher sometimes than the evidence given justifies, but he tells a moving tale with skill and care. There are errors, for Fielding's father can hardly be correctly termed the Honourable Edmund, nor is a judge on circuit likely to be a Lord Justice. We would willingly give a good deal of the meticulous analysis of the now long dead plays to have a little more of the living Charlotte (the original of Sophia) who remains so tantalisingly shadowy throughout the story, and we are given too little to realise the charms which we are told so emphatically she possessed. Perhaps, all through, the balance between Fielding the writer and Fielding the man might be redressed more in favour of the latter, but the whole book is a careful and attractive study of a remarkable man who commands our sympathy as well as our interest and admiration.

People who talk glibly about 'the good old days' should read books like Miss Christine Hole's 'English Home-Life 1500 to 1800' (Batsford). It is true that in those days people who had wealth and robust health managed to have a pretty good time, though most of us now would consider the best of times then almost intolerable with the terrible ideas of hygiene, lack of sanitation, almost universal filth, depression, darkness relieved only by candles and usually far too few of them, the exhaustion, discomforts, and dangers of travel, the prevalence of disease and the cures which were often worse than the diseases themselves. Miss Hole's book is divided into two parts, 1500 to 1700 and the eighteenth century, and the examination of and comparison between the two periods is most interesting and informative. We are given pictures of life from the cradle to the grave—and in the earlier period it is really surprising that the latter did not almost universally follow quickly on the former, considering the dangers of illness, mistaken medical science, and ideas of education prevailing for children. We are shown life in the great hall of earlier days and in the dining-rooms and saloons of later days; in the kitchens and in the bedrooms, indoors and in the gardens, parks, and countryside

without. We are told of pastimes, pleasures, and sport, holidays and travel, Sundays and weekdays, secular and religious education, marriage, sickness, and death. In Georgian as in earlier days people had vigorous faults and virtues and were equally lively and courageous, coarse, and boisterous, often cruel, often kind, and sometimes even refined. 'Under all the extravagances and excesses of the upper classes, all the brutalities of the rough and ignorant, lay a fundamental strength of character, and in most people a deep-seated if sometimes inarticulate religious feeling.' Many excellent illustrations in the best Batsford style adorn this most interesting and illuminating book.

In 'The Unselfish Egoist' (Longmans) Joan Evans tells the life story of Joseph Joubert whom Chateaubriand called 'an egoist who devoted himself to others,' who was the intimate friend of Diderot and Fontanes and contrived to remain a quiet thinker through the turbulent years of the French Revolution. Born in 1754, the son of a doctor in the small town of Montignac in Périgord, he first studied for the priesthood till, finding that he had no real vocation, he drifted to Paris to live as a man of letters, but as he published almost nothing and confined his efforts to filling numerous notebooks with thoughts and reflections (not published till long after his death) he naturally made no special mark. Most of the years of the Revolution he spent in Montignac and Villeneuve, backwaters which hardly felt the torrent of terror and upheaval. In Napoleonic times he returned to Paris for long periods, but was never in the public eye. His friendship with Madame de Sérillac, Madame de Beaumont, and Madame de Vintimille led to attractive correspondence, which is largely quoted in this book. He was known to a small literary circle in Paris as a sensitive literary critic, to a wider academic world for a time as the most disinterested of school inspectors, and to his neighbours at Villeneuve as the kindest of friends. His was a pleasing and gentle personality, curiously ineffective and unsuited for the turmoil of life. Miss Evans has done her work skilfully and tastefully, though perhaps we could wish that she had chosen a less neutral and more vital subject.

The Venezuelan Government have been wise to ask Emil Ludwig to write for them a portrait of 'Bolivar' (W. H. Allen) in order that the psychology of the Liberator may be shown in a way that cannot be shown in a marble

statue. Bolivar has of course often been written about before and the facts of his life are well known, but the interpretation of them and of the man himself give Mr Ludwig an opportunity of which he is not slow to avail himself. The book is divided into five sections, The Dandy, Ordeal, The Liberator, The Dictator, and Don Quixote. Those titles efficiently sum up his life from his childhood in Caracas and gay young days in Madrid and Paris, through his trials and triumphs, military glories and political supremacy to his sad last days when, rejected by the country which he had served, betrayed by most of his so-called friends, he lay dying in poverty in Cartagena, with the state of Colombia, which he had made and whose first President he was, already dissolving into three portions. Yet he certainly had not lived in vain, and his work largely remains more famous now perhaps than in his own day—and he himself was always planning for the fame which would come to him in years long after he had been buried. Perhaps the best key to his character and career was that he was at once the disciple of Rousseau and of Napoleon. The former abhorred a dictatorship; the latter sought and needed it. That was the constant conflict in Bolivar's life. All the same he was a great man and Mr Ludwig with his great skill and biographical experience has painted a striking and convincing portrait.

All students of International affairs will regret that Dr Cecil Delisle Burns did not live to revise the proofs of his remarkable book '**The First Europe**' (Allen and Unwin). A study of the Establishment of Medieval Christendom, it covers in fifteen closely interrelated essays the years A.D. 400–800. For the writer the period in question was vital because it saw Europe united for the first time by Christianity and, because of his ardent Internationalist outlook, it perhaps adumbrated the possibility of a new Third Europe. As a study of European transitions '**The First Europe**' has lasting values and, if as light ideological bias to the Left be discounted, permanent importance. The entire work is dominated by the author's pet phrase 'the climate of opinion.' This is a fashionable contemporary notion and while in considering the past nothing is more important than to be 'then-minded,' nothing is more difficult, and few things more dangerous. Burns rightly emphasises throughout the fact, obvious enough, that no Power however constituted

can hope to survive unless it has behind it moral sanctions : Rome, having lost these, was superseded by Christianity. Moral authority passed from the Emperors to Christian Bishops ; Cæsar was succeeded by the Popes, and kings being, at any rate in theory, his subjects, fanatical nationalisms were kept within legitimate channels. With the dwindling prestige of the legend of St Peter, and the consequent disappearance of kingship, moral authority has succumbed to power, violence, and faction. A close study of this important work may well throw light on how and where the integration of the next Europe is to arise. This 600-page volume, well printed on reasonably good paper, is enriched by nine beautiful and unusual illustrations, the frontispiece, Justinian and his Attendants (a mosaic of A.D. 547) from the unique Church of S. Vitale en Ravenne, being particularly valuable. A subject index, a general index, and three maps of the Europe of 400-800 complete an admirable example of book production.

The publishers of '*France : A Short History*,' by Professor Albert Guérard (Allen and Unwin), say that it 'is probably the most readable short history of France that has so far been produced.' That is a large claim. In the way of much condensed information in small space it cannot compare with work such as that of the late Sir John Marriott, but as a selective interpretation of the development of French character and destiny, and as a general and fair-minded survey of events and their results it may well justify the claim. The author has 'endeavoured to show that France was not to be identified with a race, a climate, or a set of institutions. The greatness of France is to transcend all these. France is a collective and age-long striving for human values.' The book deals with the land and the people, the origins, the Middle Ages, the Classical Age, the bourgeois liberal revolution 1750 to 1848, 'Yesterday : 1848 to 1914,' the two World Wars and 'Greater France To-day and To-morrow.' The main text is not overloaded with facts and dates but between the various sections are very useful lists of these, which help the reader to get the whole in better perspective and, so to speak, provide the framework in which the author's opinions, deductions, and conclusions are set. It is a good arrangement and the whole is lucid, well written, instructive, and well worth studying.

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